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THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY (1785-1884)

The primary step to be taken by the searcher in an uncharted field is to determine for himself the precise limits within which he must work. American Catholic historiography is an uncharted field, since nothing of a serious nature has as yet been accomplished in its study. In a recent work describing the Catholic history of America—*The Catholic Builders of the Nation*—there are articles covering practically every other field of Catholic activity and endeavor; but there is one article conspicuous in its absence: namely, an article on American Catholic historians. This essay is not an attempt to supply that deficiency; for, to be treated thoroughly, the subject would require a volume. Moreover, the lack of literature available at the present time prevents anything like an adequate survey of the question.

The first step necessary would seem to be to delimit the exact meaning of the word "historiography"; yet this is by no means an easy thing to do. Common definitions, such as "the writing of history," or "the art or employment of a historian" are too general and too vague to be of any use. Historiography is both of these things, but it is also much more. It is a noteworthy fact that prominent writers on the subject describe it and discuss it freely and fully, yet nevertheless neglect to define it. Some cases in point are Prof. J. T. Shotwell's article, *History*, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and his *Introduction to the Study of History;* Prof. Harry E. Barnes' article, *History, Its Rise and Development*, in the *Encyclopedia Americana;* and Flint, *His-*

tory of the Philosophy of History in France. All these writers describe historiography in action; they use the term with great frequency, but a search in their pages for a definition of the term is fruitless.

It may be easier to arrive at a working definition of historiography by a process of elimination. Historiography is not a mere listing of books written on history, nor a mere catalogue of authors; it is not a history of the books that have been written; it is not a history of the philosophy of history; it is not a guide to the study of history, nor is it a cyclopedia or dictionary of history. To constitute the essential elements of historiography, it is necessary to determine not merely what has been done, but how history has fared at the hands of historians; to trace out the dependence, independence, interdependence, and intradependence of one historian upon another, in matter, method, and originality; to note how far they supplement or control their predecessors, to detect plagiarisms, to approximate the sources at their disposal, their use or misuse of critical appraisal of these sources; and to show how far each one has been an advance upon his predecessor. All these are essential in an adequate definition of historiography, but such a definition as will compress them all within convenient limits has not yet been found.

So far as American Catholic history is concerned, no attempt has yet been made to describe it historiographically. Two creditable works on the historiography of American historians have appeared: *The History of Historical Writing in America*, by J. Franklin Jameson, (Boston, 1891); and *The Middle Group of American Historians*, by J. S. Bassett, (New York, 1917). Attempts to write ecclesiastical historiography are even rarer. Except for the rather incomplete *Historiographia Ecclesiastica* of the late Bishop Stang of Fall River, all that exists in English by Catholic writers is a number of bibliographies and lists of books on Church History.

The purpose of this essay is to give an account of the history of historical writing from the pens of American Catholics in the field of American Catholic history between the years 1785 and 1884. At the outset a difficulty is encountered in the lack of any guide or bibliography in the field of American Catholic history similar to the *Guide to the Study and Reading of American His-*

tory by Channing, Hart, and Turner, for the field of American civil and political history. To offset this deficiency in some measure, an arbitrary selection has been necessary. Even a cursory glance at the literature on American Catholic history reveals an amount of material altogether too great to be considered within the scope of a single essay. Consequently, we have confined this essay to a discussion of those works which, professedly or otherwise, have attempted to treat the general history of the Church in the United States—in other words, histories dealing with the Church as a whole in this country. Of special histories of the American Church, there are many examples, histories of Religious Orders and Congregations, parochial histories, diocesan histories, provincial histories, and kindred works.

A discussion of the works of John Gilmary Shea has been designedly omitted. An adequate treatment of Shea could well furnish material for a separate essay. Furthermore, down to the end of the period discussed, 1884, Shea had not written his masterpiece, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, the first of his volumes appearing only in 1886. Apart from Shea's own statement that his works down to 1886 were but an introduction to his *History*, a study of his previous productions would lead inevitably to such a conclusion. As all these previous works were but special histories of some phase of the Church in this country they do not fall within the scope of this essay, viz., general histories of the American Church.

From a critical standpoint, all the works here discussed are disappointing. From Carroll's *Report*, to Dilhet, to England's *Survey* of 1836, to McGee, DeCourcy, White, and finally to Murray, there is a constant evolution and development, but not a development which could be called scholarship. There are many cogent reasons for this apparent lack of historical scholarship on the part of American Catholics during the nineteenth century. With the year 1785 came the establishment of an organized hierarchy under Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic. Catholics were few and scattered in the States at that time. They were in many places but grudgingly tolerated, and their influence everywhere in civic and political life was practically nugatory. In general they were poor, heavily burdened by the struggle for daily sustenance, and unable to turn their thoughts to in-

tellectual matters. Their priests were absorbed with the arduous duties of missionary life, with hardly a moment of leisure for historical pursuits.

With the consecration of Father Carroll as first Bishop of Baltimore (1790), and with his later elevation to the archiepiscopate (1808), no immediate change in the status of Catholics was visible, save an increase in numbers and a very gradual lessening of the social and political ostracism thrust upon them by their non-Catholic fellow-citizens. With the advent of European immigrants, the story becomes more cheerful. There was always, however, a dearth of priests; and while the numbers of Catholics grew by leaps and bounds, necessitating the erection of new Sees, new churches, and new schools, the cry was ever "More priests." Church properties increased amazingly in number and value. More and more was the power of the Church within the nation forcing itself upon the unwilling attention of non-Catholics, yet the latter by the strong grasp which they had on the economic, intellectual, social, and political life of the nation, were able with comparative ease to keep the Catholic population in a state of intellectual lethargy. Only spasmodically, when in particular instances the pressure of Protestant intolerance became unbearable did the Catholic speak, and then it was in controversial literature. No organized campaign was directed by Catholics to offset what Newman called the "wholesale, retail, systematic, unscrupulous lying" hurled at the Church; and whereas a detached Catholic effort was almost sure to effect some change in its immediate locality, nevertheless the evil of intolerance was certain to break out again in some other locality with undiminished and unabashed vigor.

Despite the ever-rising tide of European immigration and its gradual absorption into American life during the nineteenth century, almost to the close of the period under discussion, conditions remained practically unchanged. Desultory efforts are the best that can be predicated of Catholic literary activity. The nineteenth century was the "brick-and-mortar" age—indispensable, indeed, for the material welfare of the Church, but relatively stifling to all higher pursuits, since every energy had to be strained to provide suitable places of worship. This was an exhausting task, and how far from complete or all-embracing even

this herculean labor itself fell short is witnessed in the defections from the Church during the century—1785-1884.

In these conditions, it is small wonder that clergy and laity alike found little time to devote to historical studies. It is almost to be wondered at that any of them found time for such labor. Of scientific historians there was but one: Shea; and he met with little better than apathy, indifference, and even hostility from his coreligionists. The attitude of intellectual inferiority thrust upon Catholics by the complacency and the self-assumed superiority of their religious antagonists came in time to be accepted, reluctantly and protestingly, perhaps, and even tacitly. Catholics were a small minority in the land, and they were given to understand that everything else Catholic was on a par with their proportion to the population of the country. Unfortunately, this deadening blight cast a pall over Catholic life, and even to-day traces of its effects are evident. Catholics may well boast of their marvellous achievements in the construction of churches, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged and the poor, schools, colleges, and universities; but down to the close of the period here discussed, Catholic ideals, Catholic philosophy, and Catholic principles of life were not woven into the warp and woof of the economic, educational, political, and religious life of the nation to anywhere near the extent warranted by the growing proportion of Catholics to the total population. Of the laity who attained prominence in the life of the nation, it can truly be said that their rise was due, not to any acceptance of their Faith on the part of their non-Catholic fellow-citizens, but rather in spite of it.

In the domain of American Catholic history, nearly everything written was written for edification. The numerous biographies which appeared, some few of them critical, but most of them more uncritical than scientific, are an example of this. These limitations and handicaps must all be borne in mind in any discussion of the history of history writing among American Catholics. An effort is made here to show the historical worth of each work discussed, and since no systematic study along these lines has been found, wherever a close study has revealed it, the influence of one historian upon another, as demanded by the definition of historiography, is explained.

The following sources and books have been chosen as a basis for the study which follows:

I. Sources.
   a. Carroll's *Report* of 1785.
   b. Flaget's *Report* of 1815.
   c. Marechal's *Report* of 1818.

II. Printed Works.
   a. SMYTH, *The Present State of the Catholic Mission Conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America* (1788).
   b. POTERIE, *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci, or a True and Exact History of the Jesuits* (1789).

III. DILHET, *L'Etat, de l'Eglise Catholique, ou du Diocèse des Etats-Unis de L'Amerique, Septentrionale* (1810).

IV. GRASSI, *Notizie Varie sullo statu presente della Repubblica degli Stati Uniti d'America settentrionale, scritte al principio del 1818* (1818).

V. *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service for the Year of Our Lord* 1822.

VI. ENGLAND, *History of the Catholic Church in North America*, 1836.

VII. MCGEE, *The Catholic History of North America* (1855).

VIII. DE COURCY-SHEA, *The Catholic Church in the United States, a Sketch of its Ecclesiastical History* (1856).

IX. WHITE, *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in the United States* (1868).

X. MURRAY, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (1876).

I.

The *materia prima* of all historiography is original documents. While it is true that documents are not historiography, it is none the less true that they are historiography in the making. For this reason, such documents as purport to give a general survey of the Church in this country deserve a place in American Catholic historiography. For the early years of the Church in the United States several such contemporary docu-

ments are deserving of notice. Three of them were written by bishops, heads of the American Church, ecclesiastics in a position to survey the whole field of Catholic life. They are authentic accounts of the condition of the Church in their day and under their direction. The reliability of these accounts is enhanced by the fact that they were written, not for publication, but for the private information of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. The three reports to be noticed here are: (a) the *Report* of Father John Carroll, written shortly after his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic, and dated March 1, 1785; (b) the *Report* of Bishop Flaget to Pope Pius VII, concerning the Diocese of Bardstown, dated April 10, 1815; and (c) the *Report* of Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore to Propaganda, on October 16, 1818.

a. Carroll's *Report* was made in answer to several official letters from Propaganda requesting certain definite information concerning the state of the American Church. Carroll secured the desired information by means of correspondence with his fellow-priests, and embodied it in his *Report*, which he entitled *Relatio Pro Emo. Cardinali Antonelli, de statu Religionis in Unitis Foederatae Americae Provinciis.* As the first *Report* of its kind to be sent to Rome from the United States, it is among the most valuable first-hand sources for the history of our Church. The original is still preserved in the Archives of Propaganda, and has been published by Guilday in his *Life and Times of John Carroll.* The rough draft made by Carroll is still in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. The *Report* is divided into three sections. The first deals with the number of Catholics in the United States; the second, with the conditions, piety, defects, etc., of Catholics; and the third with the number of priests, their character and qualifications, and the means of their support. Carroll's *Report* is brief and to the point; no attempt is made in it either to conceal or to exaggerate the desperate condition of the struggling American Church; and it gives every indication of a calm, balanced judgment regarding the state of the Church in the United States at the time.

b. The second of these episcopal *Reports* is that of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown. Flaget was a member of the Society of St. Sulpice, and had come to the

United States in 1792. On his arrival he had been assigned to the mission at Vincennes, but his stay there was of short duration. In 1795, Bishop Carroll recalled him to Baltimore and appointed him President of Georgetown College, where he remained three years. He then went to Havana to assist in the establishment of a Sulpician College in that city. In 1801, he returned to Baltimore as professor at the seminary and in 1808, was transferred to Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. He was at Emmitsburg when the news of his elevation to the newly erected See of Bardstown reached him. Despite his reluctance to accept the position, he was consecrated at Baltimore by Archbishop Carroll in 1810. Flaget's *Report* is addressed to Pope Pius VII. It opens with the Bishop's felicitations to the Pope on the later's release from captivity. The writer then describes in detail the state of the Church in Kentucky, the number of priests and churches, the establishment of a seminary at Bardstown, and the communities of religious women then settled in the diocese—the Sisters of Charity at Nazareth, and the Loretines at Loretto. Flaget then touches briefly on the state of the Church in the remainder of his vast diocese, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and the great Northwest Territory.

His *Report* is in the Archives of Propaganda, (America Centrale, vol. III, fol. 323-326). Its existence was evidently unknown to Flaget's successor and biographer, Bishop Martin J. Spalding, for it is nowhere mentioned in the latter's *Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Bardstown,* published at Louisville in 1852, although Spalding used a great many other letters and documents of Flaget. Thirty years later, in 1884, it was still unknown or not available to historians, for no reference to it is made by Benjamin Webb in his *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky,* Louisville, 1884. It was first published by the Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M., in the *Catholic Historical Review,* vol. I, pp. 305-319.

c. The third of these *Reports* is that of Archbishop Maréchal, of Baltimore. Maréchal was a Sulpician and up to the time of his consecration was a professor in St. Mary's College, Baltimore. He had come to this country in 1792, sailing the very day of his ordination to the priesthood, so that his first Mass

was said in Baltimore. He returned to France in 1803, and remained there eight years, until Napoleon expelled the Sulpicians from all their seminaries. Maréchal then returned to the United States. Soon after his consecration as Archbishop, in December, 1817, he made a general survey of conditions in his diocese, both by means of a personal visitation and by a circular letter to his clergy. The questionnaire accompanying the circular reveals by its details the thoroughness of Maréchal's methods. It is printed in full in Guilday's *The Church in Virginia, 1815-1822.* The results obtained from the visitation and the questionnaire are summed up and analyzed in the *Ratio status religionis catholicae in diocesi Baltimorensi reddita ab Ambrosio Archiepiscopo, 1818, Illustrissimo ac Eminentissimo Cardinali Litta, Praefecto Sacrae Congregationis Fidei.* The *Report* covers eighteen folios, written on ordinary paper by Maréchal himself. Shea knew of its existence, for he used it in volume III of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* and there is a copy of it among the Shea Transcripts in the Riggs Library at Georgetown University. It was probably one of the many documents copied for Shea through the generosity of Archbishop Corrigan. It was published in full for the first time in the *Catholic Historical Review,* vol. I, pp. 449ss.

Maréchal's *Report* is of supreme importance for the history of the Catholic Church in the United States for the period 1815-1820. It is divided into nine main sections, covering every phase of the American Church of the time: the number of priests, faithful, and churches; seminaries, convents; the trying situation of the priests, the character of some malcontents among them; the vices of the American people, the attitude of the Protestants towards the Church; the freedom of action permitted the Church by American law; internal difficulties in the Church, especially the schisms in Norfolk and Charleston, the erection of new Sees in Georgia and Louisiana, and the difficulties to be surmounted by the Church in the United States, particularly the dearth of priests and the evils of lay-trusteeism. There is no mincing of terms, and no fine phrasing. At times Maréchal's racial and religious animosities rise to the surface, and he permits his dislikes, especially for Irish priests and for the Jesuits, to come prominently to view. Such parts of the *Report* as refer

to the Society of Jesus have been used by Thomas Hughes, S.J., in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal.* Appended to the *Report* is a *Catalogus Sacerdotum in diocesi Baltimorensi, 1818,* containing the names of eighteen Jesuits, nine Sulpicians and twenty-five secular priests working in the diocese at the time.

II.

From these archival sources, we pass to the printed material on general American Catholic history. Two of the earliest of these are attacks on the Society of Jesus. a. The first is entitled *The Present State of the Catholic Mission Conducted by the ex-Jesuits in North America,* from the pen of the Rev. Patrick Smyth, printed at Dublin in 1788. Smyth was an Irish secular priest of turbulent character, who came to Baltimore in 1787, imbued with the animosity aroused by the Jesuit-Secular controversy in England and Ireland. After a year in Baltimore and Frederick, during which time he accepted the hospitality of Father John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic at the time, he returned to Ireland and published the *Present State.* He was particularly bitter against Marylanders of English descent, who, he claimed, had made him feel unwelcome because of his Irish birth and education.

Smyth's pamphlet is but a resumé of the charges made in the celebrated Jesuit-Secular controversy. He accuses the ex-Jesuits in Maryland of securing for themselves large landed estates, and causing these to be worked by negro slaves while their masters attended to the religious needs of those who dwelt nearby, in towns or cities, without troubling themselves to look after the scattered Catholics, settled beyond the pale of Maryland "refinement," as, for example, in the Alleghanies. The last twenty of the forty-eight pages in the pamphlet are devoted to a scurrilous personal attack on Father Carroll and the Reverend William O'Brien, O.P., pastor of St. Peter's Church, New York City. Smyth's attitude towards the Jesuits can be estimated from the following passages:

> Where, then, are the fruits of more than one hundred and fifty years' labor? Where are the Jesuits em-

> ployed?.... Why, Sir, you shall find them superbly lodged on the banks of the Potowmack, or basking in the luxuriant climes of the Eastern Shore. And how do they employ their time? On Sundays they attend the adjacent congregations, and during the week they must improve their estates.—What, are they obliged to live, like the Apostles, by the work of their hands? No, they have a prodigious number of negroes, and these sooty rogues will not work unless they be goaded, and whipped, and almost flayed alive.....
>
> Ten thousand acres of the best ground in Maryland forms, at this hour, part of the property of the Jesuits. During the religious disturbances which often injured the fortune of individuals in that state, not an acre was lost by these provident proprietors. I do not mention this as an absolute reproach; but while the acres were gradually increasing and improving, not a single effort of consequence was made by them—either before or since unlimited toleration was extended to all the children of Adam, residing in the confederated States—to extend their mission to their neighbors or even to assist with any degree of regularity the back countries of Maryland...In a letter from Doctor Carroll..is the following paragraph: 'My very good friend, Mr. O'Brien of New York, has informed Your Grace of the reason I have to be dissatisfied with the unaccountable conduct of the Reverend Mr. Smyth, lately returned to Ireland.' Now, Mr. O'Brien who was evidently made a tool of in this business lived near three hundred miles from the scene of my *unaccountable conduct*, and though the Doctor was on the spot, the cunning Jesuit throws the task of splashing dirt upon his *very good friend*, the Dominican Friar..... A keen Jesuit hath many contrivances. Doctor Carroll knows very well that I could readily make New York a disagreeable place to Mr. O'Brien. He hoped by this crooked policy to get rid of him, too.....

It is unfortunately true that this first attempt to narrate the story of the Church in the colonies should have been a calumny from a refractory and hypocritical priest. While it purports to be a history, it is a slanderous personal attack, and as such deserves scanty notice. Smyth offers a few letters in support of his contentions, but a comparison of his garbled versions of them with the reply of Father Carroll which is still preserved in the

original manuscript in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives shows how utterly lacking in principle the Irish cleric was. Smyth's diatribe was widely circulated in Ireland, and caused serious harm to the good name of the American Church. It was likewise the source of considerable harm at Rome, through its statements asserting the establishment of a Jesuit novitiate in the United States, contrary to the Bull of Suppression of the Society, which was at the time in full effect.

b. The second of these early treatises is also a pamphlet: *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci, or a True and Exact History of the Jesuits.* Like its predecessor, it was the treacherous work of a turbulent cleric whom the American Church had harbored, all unconscious of the spirit with which he was soon to attack the clergy here. The author was the Rev. Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie. He had been a chaplain in the French army forces under Rochambeau. Late in 1788, he had been given faculties for the ministry by Father Carroll, and began to labor in Boston. His conduct soon proved to be so little in keeping with the clerical office that six months later, in May 1789, he was suspended. He left Boston for Quebec, but returned and lived in retirement till January 1790, when he left for the West Indies. Sometime before he departed, he gave his violent attack on Father Carroll and the priests of the American Church to the printer.

> The Inquisitor-Monk, William O'Brien....in New York and Boston has said and written everything possible, false, wicked, and absurd, to the injury of the first Roman Catholic priests in those cities; with design to prejudice their congregations against them, and remove them therefrom; greatly to the disgrace of the Roman Catholic Religion. These are two instances among many that might be cited of his bad heart and machiavellian conduct. (p. 28.).

Poterie's screed is a small octavo pamphlet of twenty-eight pages. The malice of the author is evidenced in his dedication:

> To the new Laurent Ricci in America, The Reverend Father John Carroll, Superior of the Jesuits' (Footing) in the United States; also to the Friar-Monk-In-

quisitor, William O'Brien, (One of his many contrivers to set his engines at work, without interfering visibly himself) this Treatise is humbly dedicated.

Father O'Brien had been sent by Father Carroll to Boston to investigate into Poterie's conduct, in 1789, and it was his report on conditions there that led to the suspension of the erratic priest. This explains the animus of Poterie in "dedicating" his work to Father O'Brien as well as to Father Carroll. The work is, furthermore, addressed as "a well-meant caution to the United States of America on the danger of admitting that turbulent body of men called Jesuits among them," also "to all Christian Congregations of the United States of America, particularly Roman Catholics." It is, like Smyth's work, but a summary of the scurrilous charges so often made against the Jesuits, a curious mixture of half-truths, distorted interpretations, and lies. Hardly more than a word or two is said of the Jesuits in this country, the whole being a story of alleged "machinations," "plots" and "crimes" in other parts of the world.

III.

The first attempt to compile a general history of the Church in this country was made by the Rev. John Dilhet, of the Society of Saint Sulpice, about 1810. Dilhet was born at Toulouse, France, on November 18, 1753. He was ordained to the priesthood in the Seminary of his native city in 1778, and soon afterwards entered the Sulpician Solitude at Issy. On the completion of his year there, he was sent to the Seminary at Bourges, where he remained till 1787, and was then transferred to the Seminary at Avignon. From Avignon he was sent to Tulle, where the uphevals of the French Revolution caused his retirement. No further information concerning him is available until his arrival in Baltimore, on January 13, 1798. Six months later he reached the mission at Detroit, whither he had been despatched by Bishop Carroll. He was assigned, on July 1, 1798, to the parish of Raisin River, Michigan, by Fr. Levadoux, Vicar-General of Carroll in the Michigan Territory.

Various difficulties with his parishioners caused his retire-

ment six years later, and on March 13, 1804, he withdrew to Detroit, although he continued at intervals to make pastoral visits to Raisin River during the next twelve months. His final visit was in May, 1805, and in the fall of that year he was recalled to France. Upon his return to Baltimore, Bishop Carroll assigned him temporarily to the mission at Conewago, Pennsylvania, whence, in the summer and fall of 1806, he co-operated with his confrère, Francis Charles Nagot, S.S., in the establishment of the Seminary at Pigeon Hills, Pa., which was later transferred to Emmitsburg, Maryland, becoming the present Mount St. Mary's College.

Two years after he received the order for his recall, Dilhet left Baltimore for France, April 27, 1807. In France he was assigned to the task of restoring the Seminary of Limoges, which had been destroyed in the Revolution. So successful was he in this position that he was assigned to a similar task at Puy, three years later. He died in Puy, October 31, 1811, at the age of fifty-eight.

According to his biographer, Dilhet was "cast in a mold different from Nagot, Tessier, Flaget, Levadoux, and Richard" (all of them Sulpician pioneers in the United States). "His mentality as revealed in his work and his temperament as evidenced by his pastoral career indicate that he was unfitted for the rugged and toilsome life of the American mission. He does not seem to have had a just appreciation of the work done by his co-laborers, and too often overestimates the part played by himself. He lacked judgment in dealing with those with whose spiritual welfare he had been entrusted, and failed to accomplish anything of permanent value. He had splendid visions, but failed to translate them into realities, and unlike the other zealous and practical Sons of Olier, he occupies but a small place in the annals of the missionary and educational life of the United States." The official historian of the Sulpicians in the United States, Charles G. Hebermann, mentions him but twice, and on both occasions does no more than state his name.

Dilhet's history of the American Church is entitled *L'Etat de l'Eglise, ou du Diocèse des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.* It is a manuscript volume in duodecimo, of 193 pages, bound in red leather. It is divided into three parts: (1) the

early days of the Church in America; (2) the establishment of the See of Baltimore; (3) Catholic missions and congregations in the United States. It contains all the principal historical facts of the Church in the United States, together with a geographical description of the country, as Dilhet knew it by observation and study. He says in his Foreword:

> This work is merely a modest effort, an imperfect sketch, simply an account of the Church in the United States, such as I have been able to furnish with the means at my disposal; for I am left entirely to my own resources, without assistance from printed book, note, or any earlier manuscript.....
>
> It is not our intention to give a complete description of the states; counties, towns, congregations, or sites of parishes and missions, but merely to set down what is necessary to understand how important and how extensive they are..... There are many very interesting places with which we are not familiar, so we shall confine ourselves to a brief notice of them, lest we hazard anything which may not be strictly true. Hence, our readers must excuse our brevity under such circumstances.....

Dilhet has not divided his work regularly into chapters, but into captions. On almost every page these assist the reader in following the story as written. After a Foreword, the work opens with a paragraph on the beginnings of the English settlements in America, and on the state of the Catholic missions before the independence of the United States. The second section relates the founding of the See of Baltimore, and the consecration of Bishop Carroll. The third section deals with the establishment of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, a section which Dilhet purposely condensed because of his intention to write later a complete history of that institution. Whether or not he ever carried out his design is not determined, but it is not probable. Then follow accounts of the Diocesan Synod of 1791, the state of the Church in Maryland, the city of Baltimore, Washington, Whitemarsh, Bladensburg, and several of the Maryland counties. Appended to these sections is a catalogue of the priests in the United States. The next parts deal with the state of the Church in Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts,

Maine, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky. In this last section, Dilhet's own labors in Michigan are related.

When was the work written? It would appear to have been composed in France after the author's return from America. Since no mention is made of Carroll's elevation to the archiepiscopate, nor of the nomination of the four suffragans of Baltimore, it is probable that Dilhet wrote in 1808 or 1809, before word had reached him of the changes effected. The knowledge displayed by Dilhet concerning parts of the United States never visited by him casts doubt on his statement that he wrote without reference to any sources beyond his own observations. There were plenty of books concerning the United States in circulation in France at the time he wrote, and it is hardly possible that as Director of a Seminary he would not have known at least some of them. Furthermore, during his stay in Baltimore, he had frequent conversations with Bishop Carroll, and it is also likely that he had access to the diocesan archives. At any rate, he undoubtedly learned much from his confrères at St. Mary's Seminary, and from the visits of the missionaries who came to Baltimore. For these reasons, much of the matter in the book is of value for students of American Catholic history, furnishing as it does numerous first-hand data, based on personal observations. This fact makes it in some respects an interesting contemporary document.

The work is, however, marred by several gross blemishes. The style is verbose, and events are related out of all due proportion, or else are hidden under a mass of words. The author often indulges in exaggerations, and his outlook is blurred by racial prejudices, particularly against German and Irish priests. His judgments of men and events are likewise often faulty. In spite of these blemishes, Dilhet's work is in some respects indispensable. Shea used it frequently, and regarded it as of prime importance, often quoting it in corroboration of other sources. *L'Etat de l'Eglise* was first published in the original, with a translation and notes by the Rev. P. W. Browne, S.T.D., Ph.D., of the Catholic University of America, from a manuscript copy now in the Sulpician Archives in Baltimore.

IV.

A fourth contemporary account of the annals of the American Church is the work of the Rev. John Grassi, S.J., published in Italian at Milan, in 1818, entitled *Notizie Varie sullo stato presente della Reppublica degli Stati Uniti d'America settentrionale, scritte al principio del 1818.* Grassi was an Italian Jesuit who came to this country in 1810. Assigned to Georgetown College, a year later he was named Rector of the College and Superior of the Maryland Mission. He remained Superior of the Mission until 1817 when he returned to Europe. His *Notizie Varie* was published the next year, and a second edition followed in 1819.

The *Notizie* is a fair-sized book, of 146 pages, divided into three sections: (1) brief notices on the climate, soil, products, commerce, population, characters, costumes, literature, and government of the United States; (2) accounts of the various sects in the States; and (3) an essay on the present state of the Catholic religion, under two headings: *Dioceses* and *Churches and Functions.* Annexed to the volume is a statistical table, giving in parallel columns the names of the States, with latitude and longitude, area in square miles, capitals and principal cities, with their respective populations, products, minerals, colleges and universities, and the number of representatives in Congress. Such a table is ample indication that Grassi made a thorough and many-sided study of the United States of the time. His description of the Church adds little, however to our knowledge today. As he wrote solely for Europeans, he naturally took the European viewpoint, and like most other European visitors was most impressed by the spirit of toleration on the part of the government and people of the United States. Grassi's work is valuable not so much for the facts it gives concerning the material condition of the Church as for the picture it presents of the life of the missionaries of the time. Part of the work appeared in translation in the *American Catholic Historical Researches,* vol. VIII, pp. 98-111, taken from the *Woodstock Letters,* vol. XI, no. 3. A copy of the book is to be found in the Riggs Library at Georgetown University, in the Shea Collection, and another copy is in the possession of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. A discussion of the book and

its contents is to be found in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. V, pp. 301-319, from the pen of the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.

V.

A fifth contemporary account of the early days of the Church in the United States is to be found in the *Laity's Directory to the Church Service for the Year of Our Lord 1822*. This is the earliest printed church history of the United States. It is a small volume of 138 pages in duodecimo, and was presumably compiled by the Rev. John Power, Vicar General of the Diocese of New York. It is divided into eight sections, two of which, nos. 4 and 5, bear directly on the subject of this essay. The fourth section is entitled *A Brief Account of the Establishment of Episcopacy in the United States*, and the fifth has the caption *Present State of Religion in the Respective Dioceses*.

The *Brief Account* consists chiefly of the Bull of Pius VI erecting the See of Baltimore, and a few words on each of the consecrations from John Carroll to John England. The section on the *Present State of Religion* does little more than list the principal churches and priests of each diocese. Its historical value would have been greatly enhanced if it had given complete lists of the priests in each of the dioceses, as it does for the Diocese of New York. It cannot be criticised severely, however, for the information it does contain is accurate, and undoubtedly afforded many of its readers a new glimpse at the state of the Church in that day. The editor was one of the leading priests of the country at the time, and well acquainted with the condition of the Church in all the dioceses then existing. The historical sections of the *Directory* were published in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. IV, pp. 222-241.

VI.

From the publication of the *Laity's Directory* in 1822 no sketch of the Church as a whole in the United States was attempted for nearly fifteen years. In 1836, Bishop John England, of Charleston, while sojourning in Rome on matters connected with his mission as Apostolic Delegate to Haiti wrote a

brief but comprehensive account of the condition of the Church for the Central Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyons, France. Of the foundation, purpose, and work of the Society mention need not be made here, since it has been fully treated in the critical study of the Rev. E. J. Hickey, Ph.D., *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Its Foundation, Organization, and Success* (Washington, 1922). It will suffice to say that while in Lyons in 1836 on his way to Rome, Bishop England had been asked by the Central Council to answer four questions regarding the Church in America.

These questions England undertook to answer, and he prefaces his reply from Rome with a remark that indicates his intention to give the matter full consideration:

> I sent you from Marseilles a hasty and imperfect note, written under the disadvantages of my efforts to get hither with what speed I could. The important topics of your letter have occupied a good share of my attention, and I will avail myself of the first moments that I can devote to that duty to give my views upon the subject.

The *Letter* occupies twenty pages, closely printed in double column in volume III, pp. 226-246, of the *Works* of England edited by his successor in the See of Charleston, Bishop Reynolds, and published at Baltimore in 1849. It is reprinted also in the Messmer edition of England's *Works*, (Cleveland, 1908). The main portions of the *Letter* were first published in French, in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, at Lyons, March, 1838 (volume X, no. 57). The entire *Letter* was first published in English in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, in 1839, England's official diocesan organ.

The *Letter* is divided into six main sections. The thesis of the first section is that in the half century between the establishment of the hierarchy in the United States and the composition of the *Letter*, millions of adherents had been lost to the Catholic religion. The reason for this loss England ascribes to one general cause: "the absence of a clergy sufficiently numerous and properly qualified for the missions of the United States." The second section of the *Letter* is the real beginning of the history

of the Church in this country. It treats in a general way the methods used by France and Spain in dealing with religion in their colonies in the New World. The third section discusses those portions of the United States which from the beginning had been under Protestant domination, i.e., the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, and describes the condition of the few Catholics in those colonies before the American Revolution. In the fourth section England deals with those two colonies in particular in which the greater number of Catholics was to be found prior to the Revolution: Maryland and Pennsylvania. In this section he discusses also the effects of the transfer of Canada to British jurisdiction by the Treaty of Paris, 1763. In the fifth section he discusses the expansion of the Church in the new Republic, after the Treaty of Paris of 1783. The last section, the sixth, is devoted to some of the special difficulties facing the Church of that day, particularly the evils of lay-trusteeism, and to the condition of the Church in general in this country.

Endowed with keen powers of observation and penetrating analytical faculties, England had, from his arrival in Charleston in 1820, secured a thorough understanding of the Church's problems in this country; and he quickly made himself familiar with the Catholic past of America. It must be borne in mind that despite these advantages, his *Letter* was written in Rome, without reference to notes or documents, and for this reason it is not surprising that the author should have erred in some slight details. It seems to be with a realization of the handicaps under which he wrote that England several times repeats the warning that he "writes only from memory," well aware of the possibilities that inaccuracies might escape him.

England's *Letter* was not the first experience he had had in writing American Catholic history. Four years previously, in 1832, during a short stay in Ireland, he had published in pamphlet form an account of the early history of the diocese of Charleston, including an autobiographical account of his labors during the first twelve years he occupied the See. This account was published as an appeal to the people of Ireland for financial support in the tremendous difficulties under which the author was laboring as the head of a poverty-stricken diocese in the United States.

In both of these accounts England speaks his mind boldly, without fear of offense, and has no hesitation in ascribing to its rightful source the blame for some of the unfortunate disciplinary conditions then prevailing in the American Church.

VII.

Nearly twenty years passed after the publication of England's *Letter*, before the next attempt was made to write a general history of the American Church. This was Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *Catholic History of North America*, published at Boston, in 1855, the first work to lay express claim to the title "history."

McGee was born at Carlingsford, Ireland, April 13, 1825. His schooling was limited to the curriculum offered by a day-school near Wexford, though to a considerable extent he educated himself by assiduous reading especially in the poetry and history of Ireland. At the age of seventeen he emigrated to America, stopping at Providence, R. I. On July 2, 1842, he witnessed the annual patriotic celebration in Boston. Fired by the spirit of the occasion, his biographers tell us, he made an eloquent address, although no further circumstances of the event are narrated. Two days later, as a direct result of the speech, he was offered, and accepted, a position on the staff of the Boston *Pilot*. Two years later, at the age of nineteen, he became editor-in-chief of that publication, retaining the office for a year. In 1845 he returned to Ireland, and threw himself with ardor into the Repeal agitation, then blazing fiercely throughout the country. His chosen field was journalism, and so great was the reputation he had won in America, that Daniel O'Connell in a public meeting referred to McGee's editorials as "the inspired writings of a young exiled Irish boy in America." In 1848 McGee was arrested for a violent political speech, and although soon released, was obliged to leave Ireland again. In the guise of a priest he sailed once more for America, landing at Philadelphia on October 10, 1848. Two weeks later there appeared the first number of his *New York Nation* which speedily won recognition as one of the foremost Irish organs in America.

Unfortunately, McGee's attitude in this publication became so belligerent that he indulged in diatribes against priests and

bishops in Ireland, who, he claimed, had used their influence to dissuade the Irish people from joining that uprising of 1848. Bishop Hughes of New York instantly took up the cudgels in behalf of the Irish clergy, and through the columns of the press of the city disproved completely the claims of McGee. The episode served to destroy in great measure McGee's influence among his countrymen in New York, and practically forced him to leave the city. He removed to Boston, founding there in 1850 the *American Celt.* While editor of the *Celt* he continued lecturing, as he had been doing for several years, on a wide variety of subjects. Five of these lectures he published as *The Catholic History of North America.* His later life is of no relevance to the present subject. In 1857 he removed to Montreal, and entered Canadian politics, having changed his views to those of an ardent Royalist. Death came to him tragically, the work of an assassin, on April 7, 1868.

In addition to his journalistic work, his published works are: *Historical Sketches of Daniel O'Connel and His Friends,* (Dublin, 1842); *Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century,* (Dublin, 1846); *Memoirs of the Life and Conquests of MacMurragh, King of Leinster* (Dublin, 1847); *The Catholic History of North America,* (Boston, 1855); *The Star of the North, the Life of Edward McGinn, Coadjutor Bishop of Derry,* (Montreal, 1857); *Canadian Ballads,* (Montreal, 1858); *A Popular History of Ireland,* (New York, 1863); *The Crown and the Confederation,* (Montreal, 1864); *Speeches and Addresses on the British American Union,* (London, 1865); *Poems of Thomas D'Arcy McGee,* (New York, 1869).

The Catholic History of North America is an octavo of 239 pages, containing the substance of five lectures delivered during the lecture season of 1854-55, first at New York, and later at Boston, Cincinnati, Washington, and Baltimore. The titles of the lectures, which are also the chapters of the *History,* are: *Columbus and the Discovery; The Successors of Columbus; The Aborigines and the Missionaries; The Catholics and the Revolution;* and the *Church in the Republic.* Added to these are two chapters on the *Relations of Ireland and America, Historical Relations,* and *Actual Relations.* There are also eighty-two pages of appendices, containing *Documents Illustrative of the Catholic*

History of America. These are: the will of Columbus; letters and bulls of Pope Alexander VI in relation to the discovery of America; Apostolic Letter of Pope Paul III, 1537, declaring the American Indians to be rational creatures; the Spanish form of taking possession of new territory; the Jesuits in Canada—a collection of extracts from Warburton's *Conquest of Canada;* Address of the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington, and his reply; an account of the Catharine Tegahkouitha, illustrating the influence of Christianity on the domestic life of the Indians, (taken from Bishop Kip's *Jesuits in America*). McGee says in the preface to this *History*:

> The following discourses were thought by several of those who heard them, worthy of publication in a permanent form. When I state that among those who so judged were many prelates, distinguished for acquirements and judgment, and others well versed in our *American* history, I trust the reader will believe that the publication has not been dictated by a merely personal presumption on my part.
>
> The authorities on which the author relies are quoted in the footnotes in those instances where there was a danger of a dispute as to facts. In the Appendix, certain documents which could not be inserted in the body of the work will be found unabridged. They are of a high interest in themselves, and essential to this argument.

It is obvious that in five chapters covering in all only a hundred and twelve pages, and embracing the history of the Church in America from 1492 to 1853, we can expect nothing more in the way of history than a sketchy outline such as could be compressed into a lecture. The subject-matter is taken entirely from second-hand sources. Comparatively few references are given, and all of these are to books well known to historians today, e. g. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella,* Irving's *Life of Columbus,* Brent's *Life of Archbishop Carroll,* Bayley's *History of the Catholic Church in the Island of Manhattan,* and Spalding's *Life of Bishop Flaget.*

The eighty-two page appendix to a text of a hundred and twelve pages leads to the suspicion that it was included rather

to "pad" the book, to make it of respectable size than for the intrinsic historical worth of the documents quoted. The style of the book is journalistic and popular with much of the rhetoric that might well be expected of a fiery Irishman in those days so trying for Irish patriots, both at home and in America. Yet this is the initial attempt in the first sixty-four years of the organized hierarchy in this country to write a coherent history of the Church as a whole in the United States.

VIII.

Following closely upon the publication of McGee's literary sketch of American Catholic history, came John Gilmary Shea's translation into English under the title *The Catholic Church in the United States, a Sketch of Its Ecclesiastical History,* of a series of articles written by Henri De Courcy de Laroche Heron, in *L'Univers, L'Ami de la Religion,* and other French periodicals. It was printed at New York in 1856, an octavo volume of 591 pages.

De Courcy was the American correspondent for a number of French publications, when he began his series of articles on the history of Catholicism in the United States. Attracted, no doubt, by the work of Shea, who, although but thirty years of age at the time, had already made secure his reputation as a historian by the publication of his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi,* and his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes,* De Courcy sought aid from one who was well versed in the matter he intended to treat. Shea generously offered the use of the manuscripts he then possessed, and assisted De Courcy in every way, so much so that the whole work is really Shea's. Perhaps it was to give the American public the benefit of his own labors and researches that Shea translated the articles into English.

As a general history of the American Church, the work falls short of the title it bears. It covers only the territory included in three of the five dioceses of 1808, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, although the history of these is carried down to 1853. There is no mention of the dioceses of Boston, or Bardstown, nor of later dioceses, such as New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and

Natchez. Thus, despite this title, the scope of the book is limited. The style, as might well be expected of magazine articles, is popular, and like most translations loses some of the vivacity it possessed in the original French.

The contents of De Courcy's work arouse a suspicion that something else influenced its publication besides purely historical motives. It opens with a dedication in French to Archbishop Cajetan Bedini, who was Apostolic Visitator to the United States in 1853-4. Bedini's visit had given rise to an outburst of anti-Catholic bigotry which reached its climax in riots at Louisville and Cincinnati in 1855, at the time when De Courcy's articles were appearing in France. Thirty of the fifty-two pages of the Appendix were devoted to *Documents Relating to the Nunciature of the Most Rev. C. Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes,* —concerning Bedini's rule in Bologna, previous to his visit to this country. The *Documents* are meant to exculpate Bedini from charges made in Italian papers, and reiterated in America, that he had acted with uncalled-for severity in governing Bologna. The printing of these documents is irrelevant to the history of the Church in the United States.

The *raison d'être* of the work is given by Shea as follows:

> The want of any regular history of the Catholic Church in the United States has led to many erroneous ideas here and elsewhere. To give the public in France some idea of the progress of Catholicity in a country in which they take so deep an interest, Mr. De Courcy began, some time since, a series of sketches in the "Ami de la Religion" and other French periodicals. In these I aided him with all the information in my hands; and deeming his sketches calculated to do good among ourselves have translated them, occasionally adding facts or details which afterwards came to our knowledge. Such is the volume now submitted to the Catholic of the United States . . . . . From the close friendship which united us, and our daily intercourse during the progress of the work, it would be difficult for me to state what portions are exclusively mine, yet as the ill health of Mr. De Courcy compelled him for a time to suspend his labors, the part concerning New York, except where it relates to the French and Canadian element, may be considered as chiefly from my pen.

The main portion of the work contains twenty-eight chapters, the first five of which deal successively with the early Indian missions, the Colonial Church, the Church in the Republic, the Church in the Revolution, and a second chapter on the Church in the Republic. Chapters 6 to 13 inclusive treat the history of the Diocese of Baltimore to 1808, and of the Archdiocese to 1852. Chapters 14 to 18 inclusive deal with the Church in Pennsylvania from 1680 to 1840, while chapters 20 to 26 inclusive tell the story of the Church in New York. These last six are the chapters which Shea had said in his Preface "may be considered as chiefly from my pen."

Chapter 27 is an account of Bedini's mission to the United States, with an account of the violent anti-Catholic reaction it evoked. The concluding chapter deals likewise with this anti-Catholic spirit, and the rise of Know-Nothingism. The Appendices include the Bull of Pius VI erecting the See of Baltimore, lists of prelates and priests in attendance at the Councils of Baltimore, in 1791, 1829, 1837, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1849, and 1852. The list of those in attendance at the Council of 1833 is given as a foot-note on pages 131-132. Then follows the marriage certificate of Jerome Bonaparte "as entered in the handwriting of Bishop Carroll"; and a list of the priests ordained in the Dioceses of Baltimore, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Brooklyn, and Newark.

Why include the marriage certificate of Bonaparte? Perhaps De Courcy included it for "home-consumption" in France. Much of the material in the book is due to the painstaking research of Shea. As this was thirty years before the appearance of Shea's own masterpiece, it is not to be expected that his early labors should show the fruits of the ripe scholarship manifest in his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* It seems evident, however, that Shea possessed manuscript material at that early date which has since been lost, although it was given to later writers. Another item of great historical interest and value is the list of priests ordained in the dioceses mentioned in the Appendix.

De Courcy-Shea is an improvement over the *History* of McGee, for it is the work of a skilled historian, and written with original documents in sight. Whether or not it was the defects

in McGee's work that induced Shea to translate De Courcy, Shea could write in 1892, referring to his translation of De Courcy, "the English translation has been for some thirty years the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Church in this country."

IX.

Twelve years elapsed after the work of De Courcy-Shea before another effort was made to write a general history of the Church in the United States. This came in 1868 in the form of an Appendix to the English translation of Darras' *Histoire Générale de l'Eglise*, published in New York. The author of this historical sketch was the Rev. Charles I. White, D.D., pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Washington, D. C.

Charles Ignatius White was born in Baltimore, February 1, 1807. While only a lad of seven years, he had served the Mass of the Father of the American Church in the Baltimore Cathedral, and this fact made him one of the few men who knew personally the first nine Archbishops of Baltimore. His classical studies were begun at Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and completed in 1823 at St. Mary's College, Baltimore. As a student he must have given signs of great promise, for his theological studies were made at St. Sulpice, Paris, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1830. On his return to this country he served as assistant at St. Patrick's Church, Baltimore, until 1833, when he was transferred to the Cathedral. In 1839 he was made pro-Rector of the Cathedral, and in 1841 Rector, a position he held for two years. From 1843 to 1845 he filled a professional chair in St. Mary's College. and was then called to the pastorate of St. Vincent's Church, Baltimore. On January 1, 1848, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from St. Mary's University, after passing the required examinations. In 1857 he was made rector of St. Matthew's Church, Washington. Here he remained until his death, twenty-one years later, April 1, 1878.

Of all the writers considered in this essay, White was undoubtedly possessed of far better intellectual equipment at the time he wrote than any other. He was a scholar of vast erudi-

tion, and has been called "one of the leading publicists in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century." Among his literary works are: *The Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, Foundress and First Superior of the Sisters of Charity in the United States,* (New York, 1853); *Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in Their Effects on the Civilization of Europe,* by James Balmes, translated and edited with biographical notice of the author, Baltimore, 1850; *The Mission and Duties of Young Women,* translated from the French of Charles Sainte-Foy; *The Genius of Christianity,* by Chateaubriand, translated from the French, Baltimore, 1856.

From 1834 to 1857 Dr. White edited the *United States Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory.* In 1842 he founded and edited the *Religious Cabinet,* a monthly magazine which gave place in the following year to the *United States Catholic Magazine,* 1843-47, and was revived in 1853 as the *Metropolitan.* In 1850 he founded the *Catholic Mirror,* and for five years filled its editorial chair. From 1837 till his death he assisted at all the Councils of Baltimore, Provincial and Plenary. In the Councils of 1837, 1840, and 1843 he was one of the secretaries. In the Councils of 1846, 1849, 1852, and 1866 he was one of the theologians to Archbishops Eccleston and Spalding.

His ten years of service in the Baltimore Cathedral, four of them as Rector, undoubtedly gave him ample opportunity for research into the diocesan archives, and his intimate association with all the prelates and leading priests of the country at the various Councils served to broaden his scholarly outlook. His ability as a critical historian is sufficiently demonstrated by his *Life of Mrs. Seton.*

With such talent and such wide experience in letters and journalism, and general scholarship, it could reasonably be expected that, when at the age of sixty-one he was to write an historical sketch of the Church in the United States, the work would be at least satisfactory from a critical standpoint. Yet it must be confessed that the result is disappointing. Dr. White proposed to write a history of the Church in this country, and with Bernard U. Campbell collected a mass of source material for that purpose. Shea says that he never actually wrote any part of his

projected work, nothing having been found among his papers except a sketch of his plan.

The *Sketch* actually written by Dr. White covers sixty-four pages in the fourth and last volume of the English translation of Darras. It is entitled *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in the United States of America.* There are several circumstances that arouse suspicion in the reader's mind at once concerning the *Sketch.* In the first place, its presence in the volume is in no way indicated, either on the title page or in the table of contents. It seems to have been conceived by the American editors as an after thought, to atone for the ignorance of Darras in omitting all reference to the Church in America in his original work.

> It is a matter of surprise that the more recent writers on ecclesiastical history have not attached a greater importance to the establishment and progress of Catholicity in the United States. There is scarcely a history of the Church published within the last thirty years in which anything more than a brief allusion is made to the state of religion in this country. The work of the Abbé Darras....seems to ignore altogether the important fact that in the United States the Church has a wider field of operation than in Europe.,.... It has been thought advisable to append to the History of Darras a sketch of the establishment and progress of Catholicism in the United States, not merely to supply a vacuum in that work, but to give its readers on this side of the Atlantic some insight into that series of events which must necessarily be for them a subject of peculiar interest. Many excellent publications on our Church History have appeared within the last thirty years; but they are limited in their scope, touching only upon particular branches of the subject..... In the historical sketch here presented to the public, we shall draw freely from those sources of information without overlooking those original documents which may render the narrative more interesting and instructive.

As has been noted, the *Sketch* covers only sixty-four pages, yet this account came to be regarded as the one authentic account of the history of the American Church down to the time of Shea's great work, and that probably because of Dr. White's

reputation as a scholar. It is noteworthy, likewise, that while this one small product of White's pen was a greater influence on the minds of his readers than anything else he ever wrote, very few of his biographers even mention it in their lists of his works, the only exception being O'Kane Murray, who merely lists it without a word of comment.

The *Sketch* is well named, for it is indeed only a sketch. There are no divisions into chapters or sections, nor titles to any portions of it except the main heading. Five sections are set off by Roman numerals, and these are of very unequal length. Roughly speaking, however, they correspond to the main divisions of American Catholic history. The first is but two and a half pages of introduction, the second is of ten pages covering the history from 1512, the discovery of Florida, to 1791, the enactment of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The third section, of twenty-five pages, covers the period from Bishop Carroll's consecration to the division of the diocese in 1808. The fourth section carries the history forward to the death of Archbishop Marèchal in 1828, and the fifth, of fourteen pages, carries the history down to 1865, including a brief resumé of Catholic literature to that time.

As a critical historian, Dr. White was among the best the Church has had in this country, but this particular composition is not one of his critical works. As history, it is fallacious; for it is written in a free and easy style, made to appeal to the general public rather than to scholars, and it is entirely devoid of references. How far White actually did use original documents, as promised in the introduction, the reader has no means of discovering. The letters of Bishop Carroll which he quotes are from Brent's *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll* (Baltimore, 1843). White's whole treatment of Carroll, says Guilday, "has given life to many legends about John Carroll which are still current in American Catholic circles."

White's statement that the memorial from the Catholics of the country to Congress, representing the necessity of adopting some constitutional provision for the protection and maintenance of civil and religious freedom "through the influence of General Washington was favorably received, and resulted in the

enactment of the third article of the Amendments to the Constitution," is of very doubtful historical accuracy.

Yet, with all its defects, White's *Sketch* was a picture of American Catholic history written from a Catholic standpoint that shaped and colored the Protestant mind for twenty years, until the appearance of Shea's masterpiece. Although deficient in every way, White's *Sketch* was the best, simply because it was the only production that attempted to bring the general history of the Church in this country up to date.

X.

The last of the works to be considered in this essay is really the only one that measures up to the title claimed for it, namely that of a general history of the Church in the United States. This was the work of John O'Kane Murray, entitled *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, published at New York in 1876.

Murray was a practising physician of Brooklyn. He was born in Glenariffe, County Antrim, Ireland, on December 12, 1847, and came to New York with his parents in 1856. He was educated at St. John's College, Fordham, receiving the degrees B.S. and M.A., later studying medicine at the University of the city of New York. He practised his profession in Brooklyn until 1880, when he was stricken with tuberculosis. He then went to Chicago where he died on July 30, 1885. He was a contributor to the current Catholic press and periodicals, and in addition published several books, the chief of which are: the *Popular History*, already mentioned—his first work, it may be added; *The Prose and Poetry of Ireland; Catholic Heroes and Heroines of America* (New York, 1878); *Little Lives of the Great Saints* (New York 1879); *Catholic Pioneers of America* (New York, 1881); and *Lessons in English Literature* (New York, 1883).

In 1876 the United States celebrated the first centennial of its independence, and in keeping with the spirit of the day, almost every organization put forth a history of its career in this country for the purpose of chronicling its contribution to the upbuilding of the nation. Apparently anxious to have the services of the Catholic Church to the nation recognized, Murray com-

piled his *History* for the Centennial celebration. It was well received by the Catholic public and the Catholic bishops of the United States, Canada, and Ireland.

As a specimen of the method used by Murray, his Preface is significant:

> As an element of American civilization, what good has the Catholic Church accomplished? Has her record been honorable? Has she made progress? Who were her great and useful men? What did they do? At this time these are proper questions to ask. This book ventures to answer them. And as no similar work exists, its appearance, I think, calls for no apology.
>
> I have written simply as a Catholic, uninfluenced, either by sectional prejudice, or undue partially for any religious society in the Church. I have not forgotten that impartiality consists in telling the truth. Having grown up in this Western World, a child of that ancient, rock-built Church, whose American career I have endeavored so feebly to portray, it was but natural the heart warmed to its subject, and that the courage which is inspired by the love of justice cheered on the long hours of labor. Nothing that influenced the destinies of the Catholic Church in this Republic was considered foreign to the subject.
>
> In our day and country, it is sad to think that a thousand corrupt influences combine to close men's eyes to the beauty, purity, and greatness of the Catholic Church. This evil we must neutralize. The point will be partly gained by teaching the present generation the grandeur and magnificence of their Faith. They will then glory in it. They will be proud of their Catholic forefathers, and their Catholic descent.
>
> The Catholic Church is the grand depository of truth upon earth,—that truth which makes men free. She is the mother of true liberty. She flourishes best where there is no Caesar to interfere with the freedom of her action in her heavenly mission of civilizing and saving mankind. A thorough knowledge of European history would reduce this truth to the simplicity of an axiom. It is proved beyond all doubt by the history of Catholicity in America.
>
> Amongst us, I fear, public virtue is on the decline. How many things tend to lower our opinion of humanity. Corruption, shame, disgrace—the newspapers

seemingly can find little else of which to speak. Our young people hear of nothing but scandal and rumors of scandal.

> On eagles' wings immortal scandals fly,
> While virtuous actions are but born and die.

To counteract this unhappy element in American society, it becomes us to hold up before the gaze of all those noble men whose lofty lives shed a flood of splendor on the annals of the Catholic Church in America. The biographical sketches, brief and imperfect as they are, were introduced with that end in view.

The repetition of certain facts will occasionally be met with, nor could this well be avoided, owing to the nature of the subject, and the strict division of topics adopted. But in a popular book, it seems to me, that some repetition is far preferable to the questionable method of continually referring the reader to a foregoing page or chapter.

This is scarcely the place to allude to the difficulties encountered in the preparation of this volume; yet is but truth to say that they were neither few nor trifling. The hundreds of letters written to obtain the latest and most reliable information imposed an additional labor almost equal to the rest of the work. Except in a few instances, my inquiries met with nothing save kindness and courtesy. But that was not all. The inexperience of the writer, the immense field to be passed over, the many delicate subjects to be handled, the little time at disposal, and the thousand and one distractions inseparable from an active life—all contributed to swell the shortcomings of the book. However, I trust it is not destitute of some interest and value.

To borrow the language of a good old monk who lived over eight hundred years ago, "I offer this book as long as I live to the correction of those who are more learned. If I have done wrong in anything, I shall not be ashamed to receive their admonitions. If there be anything which they like, I shall not be slow to furnish more."

So far as this volume directly or indirectly touches on the dogmas of religion, I am not aware that it contains anything contrary to sound Catholic teaching. Indeed, I have taken special care that, in this respect, it should be free from error. Nevertheless, I submit the work to the judgment of the Holy Catholic Church, and

her illustrious head, Pius IX, deeming it the highest earthly honor to profess myself an obedient son of the Faith.

I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to others. The chief authorities used in the preparation of this book, besides being scattered as references through it, are given in the Appendix. To the venerable prelates, to priests, religious ladies, publishers, heads of educational institutions, and the many kind friends who aided me in my researches, I return my most grateful thanks. Addressing myself to each of them, I repeat the words of the poet:

> To thee no star be dark,
> Both heaven and earth
> Befriend thee ever.

Although it is a solid volume of 650 pages, it is from start to finish just what its name implies, a popular history. It must be admitted, however, that the make-up of the book shows decided traces of the influence of some scientific historian, whether Murray himself, which is hardly likely, considering some glaring defects in the matter contained, or some one else who guided him. Whose was the guiding hand? It is difficult to state. It could hardly have been Shea, for ten years later, Shea, in the preface to the first volume of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, severely criticizes Murray, without mentioning his name, in these terms: "I have given the authorities in my notes, although scholars generally have been compelled to abandon the plan by the dishonesty of those who copy the references, and pretend to have consulted books and documents they never saw and frequently could not read." Murray's plan is logical and scientific.

The work is divided into six books. Books I and II are the general history of the Church in America; Books III to VI are its special history. Book I (pp. 1-162) carries the history from 1492 to 1775 in three chapters. (The Pre-Columbian history is treated in four pages in the Appendix). Book II in six chapters (pp. 163-348) carries the history from 1775 to 1876. Book III is devoted to the history of the Religious Orders in this country, one chapter to Orders of men, (pp. 349 to 392) and one

chapter to Orders of women (pp. 393-424). Book IV treats Catholic education in the United States in six chapters (pp. 425-482). Book V is devoted to Catholic literature in the United States, in six chapters (pp. 482-565). Book VI glorifies the Irish contribution to America, (pp. 566-578) and considers the problem of loss and gain in the American Church in a final chapter to the book, (pp. 579-604). At the end of each chapter of the general history are appended a number of biographies of the more important personages mentioned in the chapter, most of them bishops and priests, with about one-fourth of the total number laymen.

As might be expected of a book written especially for a popular Centennial, the tone is journalistic, i. e., written with an appeal to the eye of the populace rather than to the attention of the scholar. Undoubtedly Murray was actuated by praiseworthy motives in desiring to set forth the story of the Church in this country, but from a man whose life-work was medicine, and who at the age of twenty-nine attempted in the first book he gave to the public to cover the vast field of American Catholic history in all its phases, there cannot be expected a production other than one characterized by more zeal and enthusiasm than exact scholarship. At that very time, John Gilmary Shea, whose life work was American Catholic history, had been engaged on his *History* for thirty-five years. Before Murray was born, Shea was collecting material for just such a work as Murray attempted, yet ten years more were to elapse before Shea could feel confidence enough in the results of his labors and researches to publish them. It is not surprising then, that Murray's volume is of little historical value because of its many inaccuracies, although it does contain interesting appendices on various aspects of Catholicism in the United States.

The topics treated in the Appendices were those with a special appeal to the Catholics of the day: Catholic education, Catholic literature, and the loss and gain problem. It is possible that for the idea of inserting biographies at the end of the chapters of the general history, Murray was indebted to Dodd's *Church History of England*, published in 1737, and widely known in Catholic circles at the time Murray wrote, although the latter does not list Dodd in the bibliography. In this bibliography fifty

or sixty books are listed as having been consulted in the preparation of the work, but by far the largest part of the matter in the book can be traced to productions from the pen of John Gilmary Shea. At times Murray quotes Shea's various works as *pièces justificatives*, but these seem to be quoted for the purpose of giving his book a specious appearance of scholarship and of displaying some pretense of honesty in the matter of authorities.

XI.

From the foregoing study it can be seen that during the first century of the organized hierarchy in the American Church (1785-1884), attempts to write a general history of the Church in the United States were from the standpoint of modern critical historical scholarship of an inferior order. It must not be inferred, however, that the historical works of American Catholics during this period were limited to general histories. On the contrary, a great amount of special history was being written, and some of it was of a high order critically, as White's *Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton*, Miss Brownson's *Life of Demetrius A. Gallitzin*, and others.

The close of the century of Catholic history here discussed saw far brighter prospects in the field of general American Catholic history. With the year 1838 there had already appeared on the horizon the figure of one who was destined to become the outstanding historian of the Church in this country, one who even at the early age of fourteen attracted attention by his historical work. Possessed as he was of an ardent love for the Catholic history of America, gifted with unusual talents for patient, untiring research, and a critical faculty worthy to rank him as a leader in the modern school of genetic historiography, the title so often applied to him of "The American Bede" is no misnomer. John Gilmary Shea was to crown his life work with a masterpiece, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, which has for nearly forty years remained the standard general history of the American Church. Commissioned by some of the prelates of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, convened on the Centennial of the Church in the United States to write his *History*, Shea brought to the task forty-five years' ex-

perience in his chosen field, and the result is a fitting monument to a life devoted to the Catholic history of this country.

A vast amount of material unknown to Shea has been brought to light by students in the same field in the thirty-five years since his death, so that to-day a revision of his work is needed. But until that revision is brought out, by some scholar or some group of scholars, Shea's *History* will remain the standard, as shining a landmark as when it first appeared, following close upon the period discussed in this essay, during which time the field of general American Catholic history was barren of almost all signs of critical historical scholarship.

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THE RENAISSANCE AND MODERN EUROPE

It is, I suppose, clear to all who have, even in a general way, considered the history of the European nations that all their civilization is derived directly and entirely from Rome—either 1. From the occupation of the land and the Latinisation of the folk who were found therein, directly by the Roman Empire, and in some cases, Cisalpine and parts of Transalpine Gaul, previously by the Republic. 2. Those lands which, much later in time, were materially civilised as well as evangelised, by the Roman Church. 3. There is a third and very important category, i. e., those peoples who formed a Latinised province but who, either from their distance from Italy or from lack of time, were only superficially Romanised and were submerged by the outer barbarians in the 5th century. These are the lands now known as England, Germany, Belgium, and North and East France. All these depended for their religion and culture on fresh missions from Rome. There were of course degrees of darkness and those continental folk did not experience our own total eclipse of over 150 years. During these dark years who but the Church, the Holy See, kept alive not only the Faith, but the elements of law and culture? and during the later dark ages where was the refuge of orderly life, peace and learning but in the monasteries, those fortified posts of Roman culture, in the still semi-barbarous lands?

Such is the origin of all Western culture and by Western I mean, in this sense, every country which was in communion with the Holy See until the Reformation and beyond; for at this moment the culture and type of civilization in those countries which for nearly 400 years have separated themselves from the center and source of unity are Latin; such is the force, such the magnetism of Rome. Wherever there is a code of law, wherever even a grammar and fixity of language may be found there is continuity with Rome. It is of interest to notice how complete was the loss even of the alphabet, and, naturally, still more of law, in the sense of any code, after the barbarian invasions. To confine ourselves to this country: we find no contemporary record of anything that happened between the severance from Imperial Rome and the arrival of St. Augustine. Our barbarian

ancestors could make no record of what they did or of such customs as they had; we do not even know exactly who they were, but a very few years after the coming of the mission from Rome we find the laws of Ethelbert and from that time onward several sets of tribal law. There is in it, it is true, no trace of Rome, merely pure Germanic custom; but still custom put into writing and into a coherent form.

Northern Gaul, so far as we obtain glimpses of its fate, fared perhaps worse for it had been far more highly Latinised than Britain. With the destruction of Soissons the triumph of *Barbaria* was temporarily complete. The same difficulty meets us: we can find no contemporary account of the Frankist conquest by its own people and we can hardly be sure of six words of Frankish. Then the fierce Franks bowed to Rome and immediately we find records and codes in Latin but, like those of England, not yet with any Roman in them but full of *wergilds* and curious symbolic acts, the usual apparatus of the Northern races. Owing to the much more deeply laid Roman culture their subsequent history is different. South of the Loire continuity existed and the Franks in speech and laws became merged in their Southern Celtic neighbours; but even now the folk of the Rhineland, Belgium and Northern France, wholly Latinised as they are in religion and culture, are clearly not of one race with the people South of the Loire. In England the Latinisation of speech and law failed because there was no populous civilized country adjacent. The Celts, who remained in the West, seem to have speedily lost all the arts of Rome, though retaining the Faith in a form which puzzled St. Augustine. Nevertheless, whatever we were by race we became a Catholic collection of tribes of the Latin or Western culture. How wonderful was the power of Rome; three kindred and, unless they are much maligned, particularly unpleasant races of Northern barbarians, Angles, Saxons and Franks were brought to the Christian Faith and to relatively civilized habits by the labours of a few wholly defenseless foreign priests.

We have no time, nor is this the place, to trace the gradual reduction of Europe to the Catholic Faith and Latin civilization, but with the conversion of the Swedes and the Baltic folk the task was accomplished and by the xiii century Europe was

united. A genuine United States of Europe existed. It is not meant that perfect peace reigned, far from it; the barbarian habits were too near the surface, nor have they greatly improved in the course of 700 years, but on the matters of the highest importance, nay of any real importance, they were agreed. Their eyes were on Rome and from the Pope came the final pronouncements not only on matters of faith, but on what we should call politics and international relations, to us very secular matters indeed. The triumph of *Romania* over *Barbaria* was complete. Happily, for humanity's sake the Church cultivated not only a very definite and clearly Christian field, but annexed a vast borderland of things not very spiritual and not very secular. The Church regulated, though not approving, the strange Teutonic devices of the *ordeal, compurgation* and the *wergild,* until the time was opportune to abolish them altogether. The justice of the ordinary Frankish or Saxon chief must have been so corrupt and so bloody that the system of *wergild* and the process of the *ordeal* were encouraged as a welcome alternative. We can notice the same intelligence in all the missions of the Faith. It is of no use to propound at once a highly developed theological system and, to the barbarian hearers, a fantastic morality; the Church adapts what there is of relative good in pagan societies and gradually transforms them. This and none other is the history of progress.

We must now leave the Middle Ages to develop, to come to perfection and to decline, for unless we recollect that all the aspects of what is comprehensively but inaccurately called *Mediaevalism* were not at their best but were much deteriorated when the Renaissance dawned and the Reformation broke loose, we shall fail to understand the fascination which this last manifestation of the genius of Rome had for the non-Italian nations.

The reason why the xvi century, whether we like it or not, is of such high import lies in the fact that there the modern world had its birth. There are, doubtless, certain among us who are by nature mediaevalists and for many years past there are those who draw their inspiration from the physical sciences; but the vast majority alike educated and non-educated, in either case often wholly unconsciously, are children of the Renaissance. The Renaissance, of which the Reformation was, in the condi-

tion of the Europe of those days, really the logical sequel, is the cause of Modern Europe for by its action the whole mental outlook of mankind was changed. These intellectual activities are well called a rebirth, or perhaps rediscovery might be a better word, for it was a period during which Europe rediscovered lost arts and lost learning; it was not a time of invention or discovery. Not in its original form. The science of Paré, Bacon, Harvey, Toricelli, Galileo, and Pascal belongs to a later period and, even so, what we mean by science hardly dates from before the end of the xvii century. We must remember that men's eyes were set backwards, the golden age was the *Augustan* and even the much earlier great days of Athens. The present was regarded as mean and trivial, so much so that the learned, and amongs others Erasmus, regarded their own tongues as barbarous and thought that Latin alone should be the medium of the civilised. This led in shallow minds to inconceivable pedantry; a wine or a dish would immediately receive unbounded praise if the authority of Horace or Lucullus could be cited for its existence. Similarly, the more austere would cite precedents for conduct from Cato or from the later Stoics, while young bloods who thought that they were not having their fair share of power could turn to Cataline. In fact, the classics, as must be apparent to all, could furnish authority for every conceivable moral or immoral course.

In one respect, the domain of physical science, we owe little to the Renaissance and at the present time and for several years past this seems a large exception to our debt; but well within the recollection of the middle aged the discipline of science hardly affected our training and the inspiration of all education came directly from the Renaissance. The problems even of to-day moral, social and political which we have to solve, or attempt to solve, are in themselves the legacy, some might say the *damnosa hereditas*, of the xvi century. The ameliorations of life, locomotion, sanitation, health: the brutalities of life, the infernal arts of warfare, the facts of capitalism and industrialism, all these are either the material helps or material hindrances; the problems in themselves lie in the history of the last 400 years.

The events which led up to the flowery outburst of art and

learning in Florence at the end of the xv century do not concern us, but the fact does. Florence set the example of a period of often ill-balanced pursuit of learning, making known the almost forgotten writings of Greece and Rome which was accompanied by such a splendid manifestation of painting, sculpture and architecture that it amounted to the deification of humanity. The Christian spirit of self-negation, humility and the kindred virtues gave way to the sensuous delights of form and colour, and those who had not only rediscovered but had absorbed to a truly amazing degree the spirit of the brilliant, but terribly corrupt, pagan world would turn in scorn from much of what was the main object in life of the mediaeval world. I say advisedly the object in both cases. In practise, no one supposes that all or even most of the people who lived in the xii or xiii centuries did really, either in fact or intention, live the supernatural life consistently, but it was admitted even when ignored to be the one thing that mattered. Again, no one supposes that during the time of the Renaissance there were not innumerable people, including the greatest of Saints, who were quite as much interested as before in the other world, but Society, which now for the first time has a certain vulgar connotation of fashion, would not have admitted that that life was the thing which really mattered. The high churchmen at any rate, showed a great absortion in the pursuits of the Renaissance and were on very good terms with this world and the glory of it. It is often said that this action of the higher churchmen was the cause of the rapid secularisation of society which began to take place, but it is at least probable that their participation in the worldly interests of the day prevented a still further deterioration. There was a large, numerically the greatest part of the folk, who were little affected by all this, but, as always unfortunately, of them we see and hear but little. However Savonarola found them fairly numerous in Florence itself.

Florence led the way in the rediscovery of antiquity and that second Athens, with a territory and population about the same size as those of the Greek city state, exerted an influence on futurity compared to which sundry great empires have been negligible. Rome soon followed with improvements and the Popes of that time threw themselves into the work of spreading

culture with generous enthusiasm and the Rome as we know it, or rather as the older men knew it before its occupation by the King of Sardinia and the subsequent vandalisms, began to take on its present form. So far the Renaissance was Italian and so long as the spirit of enquiry and the eager pursuit of a rediscovered civilisation was confined to Florence, Rome or Italy the effect was not widespread. The seeds of the new learning had to be scattered beyond the Alps and as Italy, to her sorrow, had to come in contact with a ruder world, so this ruder world became the means of spreading broadcast the Italian culture.

Living had been reduced to a fine art in Italy and even the battles between the city states were more of the nature of tournaments fought almost entirely between professional soldiers who were anxious to do no real harm to each other. All this pretty world came to the ground during the Swiss and French invasions. The ruthless nature of the war waged by the French, as exemplified at Fivizzano, their artillery and famous cavalry, their wild looking Swiss and Scottish mercenaries produced an extraordinary effect on Florence which made a speedy submission. This, doubtless, was partly owing to the influence of Savonarola who saw in the Northern wave of invasion his long predicted chastisement of Florentine vice. The rest was easy and Charles reached Naples with the need of no other weapon than chalk to become master of the kingdom. A large army of most Italian states, Florence faithful to the French alliance alone stood outside, attempted to keep Charles permanently in Italy and arrayed to cut off his retreat on the Taro. The king of France numerically very inferior and making every possible mistake won the battle of Fornovo. If the Italian League had shown the faintest courage his ruin must have been complete. Charles returned to his own country but his successor re-began the invasions of Italy and, from the reign of Louis XII, army after army of Frenchmen, Swiss, Spaniards and Imperialists made the country the battlefield of their ambitions, who returning home with spoils and ideas made possible the rebirth amongst the Northern folk. I like the expression of J. A. Symonds, true so far as a single picturesque phase can be,—*at Fornovo in March 1496, the history of modern Europe begins.*

The important fact, however, is that Italy as ever took her

captors captive and Italian culture spread through Europe, but Italy on the contrary took on nothing from the North except a confirmed dislike of the barbarians of the darkness. This was not a mere pose; the Italians were in every way immensely superior to the surrounding nations of that time and for a century or two after.

We have no time to trace the remarkable fascination which Italian culture both old and new exercised first, on the Valois court and then in a space of time on the Low countries, South England and the Southern parts of the Empire. The Iberian peninsula and the Northern parts of the Empire and even remote Scandinavia became influenced by it in very varying degrees. It is worth nothing that Ireland, alone of countries within the scope of the Latin Church, remained as untouched by the Renaissance as she had been by Imperial Rome: always intensely Catholic she has ever been singularly non-Roman. To the East, the barbarian lands which much later became known as the vast Russian Empire and the Balkan States, all those who derived their culture and religion from Constantinople remained wholly untouched. Mr. Baldwin said truly, the other day, that the reason why Russians, good and bad alike, remain incomprehensible to us Westerns is because they knew nothing of Rome, the Renaissance or the Reformation.

Now apart from the plastic arts and skill in editing and printing superb editions of the classics what else was the Renaissance? for it is clear that the nations of modern Europe and all that this implies were not formed by glorious painting and fine printing, for these two arts are not directly concerned with governments and politics. The truly fundamental results come from a different cause though these arts had a lasting effect on what we call education. There are four great causes for the new Europe:

1. *The Rediscovery of the Civil Law.*
2. *Textual Criticism.*
3. *The Reformation.*
4. *Nationalism.*

There is also a true sequence in these heads of causes more especially in the last three.

The revival of classical studies rediscovered and gave an immense interest in the Civil Law, and this Civil Law turned out to be a powerful solvent of the mediaeval life. When we say it was rediscovered, we do not mean that no one had ever heard of the Civil Law. Since the fall of the Empire the Canonists and Legists of the Middle Ages were far from ignorant of it, and the Canonists at least saw that Justinian could be a very helpful servant; but they realised that the code in the hands of, to use an anachronism, an anticlerical prince might be a very double-edged weapon.

The criticism of texts and documents now first began and much which was hitherto accepted as authentic could no longer be so regarded; the best known instance is that of Lorenzo Valla who discredited the myth of Constantine's donation. Men's minds, saturated in classicism and in the often very imperfectly understood philosophy of Plato, acquired a sense of pride in intellect just as art had glorified the cult of physical beauty, and all this came into violent collision with the theologians of the time past. The revived knowledge of Greek and Hebrew led to the first critical study of the text of the New Testament and of the Fathers and to that of the Bible in general. Some very good work was done but not always according to true learning; for the tendency to accept a new reading or interpretation as an established fact, whereas much was only more or less plausible guesswork, was very strong; just as in the *Higher Criticism* of our own days the outlandish is always regarded as the true. All this made the Reformation extremely probable and the not unjustly condemned obscurantism of those determined at any price *stare super antiquas vias*, the sort of folk who were ridiculed by Erasmus, rendered a literal collision between the two wings almost inevitable. Let us never forget that keen as were the best intellects of the day, and sharp even those of the mediocre, there was nevertheless much crudeness of thought and confusion of ideas and there existed a fearful amount of mental indigestion. Shrewd William Cecil, not yet Lord Burleigh, remarked to a satisfied friend that *he rather feared the contrary part* (i. e. much trouble and confusion) *for he saw such a uni-*

versal boiling and bubbling of stomachs which cannot digest the crudity of the times.

The old scholastic and theological learning was frequently ridiculed by those who were intoxicated, as men usually are, by new discoveries and who, again as often happens, ended by despising what they never really understood. Up to that time so much had been taken for granted, that the defenders were not only surprised but generally inadequately equipped for controling and developing the new learning on the right lines. This fact is made abundantly clear if we consider the futility of those men who were put up to engage in controversy with Erasmus.

Unhappily the Renaissance came into a world still so near the Middle Ages, the xvi century was an acutely theological but profoundly non-religious time, that its learning was bound sooner or later to take on a theological import and it was in those countries the more remote and less thoroughly Romanised, I mean in the sense which I used early in the paper, where the Reformation did its worst. Italy, Spain and Portugal immediately, France, the Rhineland and what we now call Belgium, after a certain fluttering of mind, rejected the reformed ideas. England, Scotland and Northern Europe, which received their Roman civilisation with the Faith much later in time, revolted permanently; whilst other lands such as the Habsburg crown possessions and part of Switzerland were only painfully recovered by the counter Reformation.

The Italian wars produced a sense of nationalism, which is not the same thing as patriotism, and here the Reformation found ready material on which to work. Luther could appeal to a German nation, to a sentiment which despised the Italians and to one which would readily respond to the idea of rejecting the supremacy of a Potentate in far off Rome. Luther, Frederic II and Bismarck were all three very great men. So was Philip II.

Luther made the modern German language and so gave all the German folk a sense of racial cohesion. His work has not been without its effect even on Catholic Germany. Frederic the Great perceived that Prussia, the least Teutonic state of the Empire, must inevitably have the hegemony of the German body apart from those lands which would adhere to the Emperor. He did his work so well that Napoleon who thought he had

finished with Prussia forever at Jena learned his mistake at Leipzig. Bismarck, who realised that the hour for the Habsburgs had struck, made what was in fact though not yet in name a new German empire on the field of Königgraz. Bismarck's work is now under a temporary, a very temporary eclipse.

Philip II gave to Spain an iron sense of nationality, a fervid Catholicism and an ingrained royalism, besides securing at least half of the American continent for the Faith.

To this new sense of nationality in Europe the Civil Law brought the conception of a ruler supreme over every department of human activity, the Prince absolute by Divine right. Even Pole, not yet Cardinal nor even priest, suggested to his cousin the advantages which were to be gained by the total abolition of the Common Law. The *Neo-Caesarism* of Henry VIII or of a Lutheran prince was strongly supported by the *Civilians*, and the idea is all in Justinian. When we read of his right to legislate *de fide Catholica* and *de Summa Trinitate*, we get rather a shock; but in practise it only implied the power and the duty of the Emperor to enforce those beliefs which the Church determined. This is the base of the *Canonist* theory of the secular arm of which, contrary to the opinion of the earlier Church, we hear rather too much in the Canon Law after the xii century. It is clear now how dangerous a weapon the Civil Law could be in the hands of a Tudor.

The princes who reformed saw the great advantage which was to be gained from a national religion under their control, namely a vast increase of power; the people were pleased at the idea of a complete nationality wholly independent of an exterior authority. At first no doubt there were some misgivings; the withdrawal from the Church, from the Body of Christ, produced a sense of isolation, but this, by a sort of protective reaction, soon developed into a strong sense of nationalism and insularity. Everywhere the Reformation produced insularity. It is true that owing to our own country being physically an island this sense became more strongly developed, and we may concede that, in the nature of things, we islanders were, even in the days of the unity of Christendom, more self-centered than the folk of the continent.

In this manner and for these reasons many countries settled

down to the reformed way of life and rejoiced in their newly-found self-realisation, but the people, even in that learned period, were simple enough, and we can hardly blame them if they could not forsee the tyranny of power which this new liberty would eventually entail. Hitherto a prince formed part of a great fraternity in which the moral limits were set by the authority of the Church. He might be arbitrary and brutal, the mediaeval monarchs often were, but it was felt to be something lawless; there was a power above and a line beyond which he could not go without outraging the moral sense of Christendom. Now the prince of the Civilians was a law to himself.

The most remarkable result of the new learning, however, is that it vitally and permanently affected even the countries which remained Catholic. Especially was the conception of kingship vastly enhanced. Let us take the case of France. There, for reasons which would draw us too far afield to discuss, the monarchy remained Catholic, but the king arrogated to himself ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a manner which would have seemed heretical to St. Louis (his Pragmatic is a manifest invention) and the mediaeval kings, and which even the courtly churchmen of the xvi and xvii centuries found it difficult to approve. Non-ecclesiastical were the heresy laws of Henry ii. The too famous *Chambre Ardente*, the *Chambre Particulière* was its real name, was a purely lay court so far as the source of its power was concerned; of course some churchmen sat in it as they did in the *Grand' Chambre* of every *parlement* of which this court was a branch. In the following century Louis XIV persecuted his Huguenots and bullied his ecclesiastics in a fashion not very different from Henry VIII's treatment of churchmen and heretics. Louis replied to an expostulation from the first privileged estate, the clergy, relative to taxation for his endless wars that the kingdom was his and all that was in it; we are a very long way from the middle ages. Then no monarch would have thought of his kingdom as one vast domain, but the idea is truly modern. I do not mean in 1925.

The real difference between the Tudor and Bourbon conceptions of limitless power lay only in the fact that the kings of France kept in the obedience of the Holy See, however much their political relations were again and again strained. Henry

VIII by rejecting the spiritual supremacy of the Pope followed on the lines of his Lutheran contemporaries though not doctrinally, in other respects, a heretic. It was left for his daughter not only to perpetuate his schism but to make her country heretical. The mere theory of a limitless sovereignty, in all its vast pretensions, was not essentially different in the mind of a Tudor and a Valois or in that of a Stewart and a Bourbon. The difference was the falling into or the keeping out of heresy. Thus we see how nationalism had its origin in the Renaissance and the germ of the modern world's greatest curse, the idea of the personified state is there too. With this we shall deal later on.

Now to gain the consent of the as yet far from contented magnates of the various countries to the new system, something more nutritious than the theory of *Justification by Faith* or the *Codex* of Justinian had to be offered to them. Bribery was the obvious resource of the prince to persuade the powerful as the knife and gallows was to terrorise the humble. The means lay ready to hand, first by the seizure of all property held by the religious, next by the spoliation of the bishoprics and the resources of the seculars. It answered admirably, a new and servile court nobility took the place of the old feudal and this thorough confiscation of church property prevented any real restoration of the power of the Church during its apparent triumph in the reign of Philip and Mary. In France, since the *Concordat* of Bologna, the *régale* had given far reaching rights to the king over vacant bishoprics and abbeys. The need for confiscation was not present, Francis I and his successors had all they needed; it was merely necessary to nominate their friends to these offices who then canonically occupied them, for the Pope gave the necessary recognition. All the same the kings took a liberal view of the *Concordat* and by the time of the last Valois a large proportion of the abbeys were in lay hands so far as revenues went; most of the abbots were not of a proper kind, some of the abbeys were in the possession of Huguenots and even of women, still there was no confiscation as in England, Scotland and reformed Germany. All was ready for use in the proper way when the king's conscience troubled or when a pa-

tient Pope remonstrated, or when even the very easy-going high churchmen became restive.

All this property in the reformed countries which was so easily acquired was easily dissipated, and much of it soon passed from the clutch of the courtiers into the hands of aspiring merchants and traders. These with the bankers, such as the Fuggers of Augsburg, were a very characteristic growth of the Renaissance. By no means mere business men, they were often intelligent patrons of the arts and learning and without them many scholars would have found it difficult to live. Here, however, was the beginning of those classes of society who much later in time owned, and still own, so large a part of the vast wealth of modern states. Here we find the beginning of *Capitalism* and we have taken another very long step from the middle ages. At the present time it is too late and it is absurd to rail at *Capitalism*, as do some of our friends, but it may be regretted that it ever came into being. This is a matter wholly distinct from the natural right of private property.

The secularisation of society was very far advanced and in no field of human activity was the secularisation to become more complete than in that of international relations. The idea of the total independence and self-realisation of each sovereign state, that is of each prince, for in the xvi century with the exception of the Swiss Confederation there existed no other form of government, practically destroyed any idea of a Christian comity of nations. With the rending of the Body of Christ came the loss of the sense of the brotherhood of mankind. With the oneness of the Church is associated the oneness of humanity, for if the Church be one and the Body of Christ then every baptised person is part of that Body; but if local and national churches be admitted then the onenesss becomes an imagination in the eyes of the many and religion will become a national or sectional matter, good behaviour and pietism at its best and a sort of *Neo-Judaism* or a tribal cult at its worst. Nations if strong and materially successful will begin to regard themselves as the special favorites of God and history since the Reformation can show many examples of this most offensive form of pride. *It is a great downfall from being a Christian people to become a chosen race,* as Mr. Chesterton has said.

This complete secularisation of politics is well illustrated by the Italian authors and especially by the famous *Prince* of Machiavelli which was a symptom and not a cause of moral disorder, for no author would have invented such a system of polical science if he had not had a practical illustration of its working around him. An acute intellect simply expressed logically what most people thought confusedly. Machiavelli is the founder of practical working politics, *Realpolitik*.

As a matter of human nature the better sort of man quickly revolted from such an extreme doctrine but, illogically, only because of its extremity; he thought that up to a certain point a little of it was *practical* and would do no harm. The nobler sort, Catholic and Protestant alike, revolted from the theory in itself. Accordingly in the next century we find the beginning of a most important and even absorbing pursuit of modern times, International Law. This was and is not the same as the old Law of Nations, *Jus Gentium*. The beginnings of international law are forever associated with Hugo Grotius, a man of encyclopedic learning and a fine flower of the Renaissance; much of what he laid down is still in vogue and some of the problems which he propounded are still vexed questions. These new international theories both Catholic and Protestant, strove in their respective ways to bring the governments of Europe back to a Christian conception of international relations. They succeeded very fairly well so long as the nations continued to be Catholic; or even Christian in the historical sense of the word. It is only in comparatively recent times that much of Protestantism has become so liberal that it has largely ceased to be Christian.

Let us glance at the *Treaty of Münster-Osnabrück* 1647-48. This truly portentous and truly modern effort at peace-making and the delimitations of frontiers is made in the name of the Blessed Trinity, all the powers agreed in that, Europe was still Christian even where not Catholic. Its object was primarily to stop the horrors of the wars of religion, the terrible desolation caused by the *Thirty Years' War* of vast tracts of land in Germany and elsewhere and, incidentally, to satisfy the greed of Swedes and Frenchmen. All the tiresome elements and the conflicting and selfish interests of modern settlements were there; therefore to avoid the indefinite prolongation of the conferences,

with the risk of their breaking down altogether, some ambiguous paragraphs were inserted and allowed to stand, paragraphs destined to have fatal results from then up to 1914. Nevertheless, it was an honest piece of work on the whole; the plenipotentiaries showed a real knowledge of the state and the needs of Europe, and if the charming simplicity of a treaty of the Middle Ages has necessarily gone it remains the best example of what could be done in the vastly more complicated conditions of post Renaissance Europe.

Close on two centuries passed; the secularisation of society and an anti-Christian spirit had greatly increased and once again a portentous congress had to face the problem of resetting a devastated and nearly frantic Europe. Let us see how the *Congress of Vienna* dealt with the matter. Again the plenipotentiaries were men who realised to a large extent the nature of the evils which they had to adjust and the needs of Europe; again the name of God appeared, Europe was still at least theistic but the clash of interests and selfish ambitions was more pronounced than in 1647. What were the principal tasks for these men? Once more, two. The utter suppression of the tyranny and even of the very name and idea of the French Revolution and the final overthrow of the great usurper and his fantastic empire; both of them products of the Revolution. Incidentally, there was the wish on the part of some countries, and notably of England, not to be too hard on the French nation as such. An assured peace and stability at any price were the things to be desired. Therefore the idea occurred of taking a date, not any particular year but some undefined time before the Revolution, and of puttting Europe back to the conditions then prevailing. This involved the perpetuation of one great injustice, the partition of Poland, and the Congress invented one or two anomalies of its own; the uniting of Belgium and Holland under the House of Orange and the establishment of Austria in Lombardy and Venetia, but the date chosen also assured to France all that belonged to her legitimate and newly restored king. The Papal States were likewise restored to their rightful sovereign. The modern divine right of princes was very much in the mind of the Congress. I say modern because a divine right had been recognised all through the Middle Ages, and indeed Saul is the first example, but that

was different to the Renaissance conception. With all its faults the Congress of Vienna, considering the extraordinary difficulties of the time, did well within the limits which it set for itself. It did check red republicanism for some considerable time, it made a sort of stand for religion against atheism and it certainly secured to Europe a longer immunity from serious wars than any other general peace conference.

Again a century rolls by and again a collection of plenipotentiaries meet, this time at Versailles, whose task it is to pacify and re-establish a Europe from which every trace of even common sense had gone. This is not a paper on current politics. All I wish to do is to point out the still further step in the secularisation of society which began with the Renaissance. Not only was there no mention of God in all the deliberations, but even any indirect reference to Providence was omitted to satisfy certain governments and the Holy See was studiously ignored in the meetings of the conference.

For the first time in history there was an attempt made to consider the wishes of the inhabitants of the countries the ownership of which was in dispute. The idea was new and good but unfortunately, owing to interested advice, ignorance and lack of time half a dozen injustices were set up where two or three old ones had been removed. The divine right of democracy with its corollary, the ostracism of kings, had succeeded to the views of Vienna. It was in fact simply a dignified, I do not say a true system, made to stand on its head. We will trace this process of development in due course.

The aim and cherished ideal of Dr. Wilson, the League of Nations, was likewise an integral part of this peace treaty, one cannot stand without the other. In it we have a very fine humanitarian and, as conceived by Dr. Wilson, even a noble ideal for the prevention of wide-spread war. It is essentially a product of our own days, there is in it no trace of Renaissance but we do find a faint restoration of the idea of the comity of nations and of the brotherhood of mankind. Its inherent weakness again lies in its ignoring the existence of God and the Holy See. It is this flaw which, in spite of the sense of the brotherhood of nations, makes it so far removed from the Middle Ages and even outwardly from the Renaissance. Nevertheless, the

increase in secularism may be logically traced step by step from the time of the Peace of Westphalia. The comparative failure of the League in the eyes of the world does not arise from the rudeness shown to God and the Pope but from certain large material difficulties, the existence of which Dr. Wilson did not at the time suspect.

The outstanding idea of all international politics since the Renaissance is that of the *Balance of Power*. The idea is all in Grotius and every country has had this conception in its mind at some period, but no country, certainly not England, as Sir Esme Howard has lately pointed out, invented it. It grew up necessarily as part of the modern system, not as an ideal but as a practical way of ensuring peace of a sort and as a real guarantee against the orgy of power in which the Renaissance indulged. When we think quietly over it, the *Balance of Power*, far from being a diabolic invention, appears as very reasonable human machinery for making life tolerable to the various nations, when once the supernatural conception of the human kind and the supernational nature of the Papacy were lost to men's minds.

The last peace conference ostensibly set aside the theory of the *Balance of Power* as an accursed thing of the tyranny of monarchs, but what in reality is the difference in spirit? Vienna aimed at the ostracism of Bonapartism, Versailles at the ostracism of a whole nation. Even the League of Nations is hardly free from that spirit and is in itself a form of the *Balance of Power*, and in the actual state of things you can get nothing else.

We have hitherto been considering the power of the absolute prince, but a worse tyranny than that may exist and it comes to pass when for one man a collective despotism is set up. Worse in the sense that it is more difficult to deal with a diffused tyranny, a bureaucracy in fact, such as is the government of most modern countries, than with one absolute prince. The first government in modern history to claim unquestioning obedience simply because it existed as the imagined wish of the many was that of revolutionary France, and revolutionary governments ever since inspired by that fatal example have frequently exercised a tyranny by the side of which the absolutism of divine right is a pale ghost. An absolute monarch does not as a rule, apart from politics, interfere with the personal liberty of his

subjects; but only too often a democracy is never happy unless it is regulating even the private affairs of the individual. The nearer a person is to the absolute prince the more he feels the pressure and incurs the danger. It is untrue to say that the Tudor despotism weighed on the mass of Englishmen. Those who happened to be in close association with Henry VIII, the nobility in fact primarily, ran a terrible risk, and those churchmen and a few others whom he chose to regard as guilty of high treason, and again under his daughter, the unhappy Catholics, more especially priests, had a terrible time, but Elizabeth's absolutism did not oppress the mass of her subjects. I ask you simply to compare those conditions with what prevailed in France under the revolutionary committee. Again Cesare Borgia's rule in Umbria was not disliked by the folk.

The intellectual process of this transformation of the divine right of the prince into a quasi-divine right of any government which happens to seize the power is somewhat after this fashion.

The absolute *dominium* of the prince round which was centered the national life and, in a sense, the very existence of the new nationalistic countries yielded to the idea of a personified state, that is the conception of a state as self-existing in some sort without regard to the individuals who composed it. It seems clear, however, that this is a mere imagination, for without individuals a state could only be a geographical abstraction or at best an empty tract of land. From the deified Caesar to the personified state there is intellectually a distinct drop, for a man can order, rule and teach, whether well or badly, whereas a personified state can do no more than fill space. To personification in due course was added omnicompetence and we are now near the monstrosity of the modern state. A state supreme over every department of life even the most private; regulating whom and when we should marry, how many children we might have, or possibly refusing us any at all if we failed to attain the standard of some board of cranks, what we must learn or teach, even what we may or may not eat and drink, imposing, in a word, its own code of morals and inventing new sins; such is not a wholly fantastic picture of what the personified and by that time deified state might become. This is simply Caesarism

standing on its head and it is less baneful and more dignified in its original position.

Early in the xvii century the influence of the *Civilians* declined owing to the increasing attraction of the Common Law, which attained its greatest vogue in the time of Coke. With the revival of the Common Law there was a national reversion to mediaevalism and to some of the liberties which were gained during that period though, historically, the actual significance and scope of those liberties were totally misconceived by the *Common Lawyers* and, indeed, were not rightly understood until very modern times. Still these ideas served their purpose against the royal absolutism and even during the Civil War.

It was Hobbes, and, strange associate, Bossuet, who first began to invest any duly constituted government with the mantle of divine right, both being really after stability at any price owing to their experience of the Civil War and of the Fronde. Hobbes went so far as to say that the religion which he practised in England, he professed because it was taught and commanded by a Christian prince, and without such authority he would not have known how or what to believe; which does not leave much room for the supernatural. On such principles Hobbes might, and I dare say would, have conformed to the religion of the kings of France, Spain or to the Pope's; they happened to be identical, but on his theory this accidentally similar religion would have to be accepted in each case because it was ordered by a Christian territorial prince; for Hobbes was far too intelligent to join in the not unpopular identification of the Pope with anti-Christ. This theory is an extreme *Caesaro-Papalism.* Hobbes does seem to safeguard himself by the word *Christian,* otherwise the argument could be, and very likely has been, used for enjoining conformity with the religion of any prince whatever. That would be an extreme but not illogical form of the very characteristic Renaissance theory of *Cujus regio.*

Bossuet, in his *Politique tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte,* of course avoids this frantic heresy; but he certainly claims a genuine divine right for any duly established government in what pertains to it and even, to our present rule, allows a perillously large part in ecclesiastical matters to the king. The value of all this may be boiled down to the thesis which most of us would accept to-day,

that any duly constituted head of a government does possess a right to rule given by God and that it is not possible for him to be tried and condemned by any legal process by his own subjects: he may of course be violently deposed or murdered, that is a different matter.

The mediaeval *Legists*, even the exuberantly imperial, had recognized that Caesar could not be obeyed if he were to promulgate orders which were at variance with the purpose for which he was ruler, *quae spectant ad regimen populi temporales*: the example given is the invalidity of a decree forbidding the drinking of wine, for it would be *ultra vires statuentis*. On the *Canonist* side, St. Thomas says that the unrighteous order of a legitimate ruler need only be obeyed for the avoiding of worse scandal and danger. Bossuet then had good precedents, apart from his Scriptural instances, and probably intended not much more than what we have quoted, but contemporarily his doctrine was given a wider scope and greater influence even beyond the borders of his own country.

The conception of the *Civilians* was the abject idolatry of power, a Caesarism, to which all laws human and divine were made to yield, a veritable drunkenness of authority and the reign of will. Botero, in his *Della ragione di Stato*, argued that the prince is master of the consciences as well as of the bodies of the people and enjoins submission to the worst tyranny. The Gallican theory held that princes had the power of disposing of their subjects' lives without any necessary form of justice, that whatever pleases the prince has the force of law and that from the action of the laws the prince is free. The doctrine of *Cujus regio* was the formula by which the State showed its mastery of the spiritual domain and was the foundation of state churches. Each sovereign may determine his own territory's religion, this is the essence of Lutheranism, not as a matter of doctrine but of convenience. The princes and cities of the Empire which adopted the Protestant views were thus guaranteed against possible imperial action at the religious peace of Augsburg, 1555, when Lutheranism, but not the Reformed views, became politically respectable. Calvinism would have none of this territorial religion. The Huguenots and our own Puritans claimed a very large field for the spiritual, and the vast pretensions of a

presbytery we dimly realise from Milton's disgust and Cromwell's wrath. It must have been very unpleasant but more hopeful, in some ways, than the fetters of state control. Protestantism and Anglicanism, though in doctrine the latter is nearer to the Reformed than to Luther, were insular territorial religions: the Calvinian theory was rather that of a non-regional religion with its spiritual source at Geneva. *Cujus regio* exercised its spell into very modern times and is still worked in Switzerland in the sense of the majority voice. If, *per impossible*, the Canton of Luzern were to become in the majority Protestant, all the parish churches and the property immediately attached to them would become Protestant, which would be henceforth the official religion and the converse would take place, say, in Vaud.

Now to all these theories of a personified state whether at the Renaissance, in the xvii century, during the revolutionary period and down to similar conceptions of to-day, to all of these, whether ever practically working or as mere figments of the intellect, the Church has ever replied by a decisive No! almost every heresy actually or potentially lurks in all such theories, every possibility of tyranny.

It is an historical fact, which we cannot here illustrate, that the Church has ever stood for the freedom of all human beings against a usurping despotism whether of one or of many. In other words there are limits to civil authority. A very large measure of obedience is due to such duly constituted authority, but it must not encroach on the revealed law of God, that is the *Jus divinum* communicated by God to man in a supernatural way for supernatural ends, nor on the law of nature, *Jus naturale*, implanted by God in natural reason for the attainment of good earthly ends when account is taken of the state in which human nature was left after the Fall.

For preserving the rights of God, if we may so speak, the English martyrs and all others who died for a similar cause gave their lives: they accepted and gave obedience to the sovereign in every department except in matters over which the sovereign had no jurisdiction. The principle was the same for St. Thomas on the matter of criminous clerks, for St. John Nepomucene on the seal of confession for Blessed Thomas More and Blessed Edmund Campion on the royal supremacy.

The question of a supreme jurisdiction cannot be ignored, but in this paper we have no time to deal adequately with the subject and must be content with a mere statement of it. The very fact that a lawful temporal sovereign such as Henry II, Wenceslaus or the two Tudors had to be resisted in the cause of the revealed law of God presupposes the existence of some supermundane authority to define at what point that law was infringed. It was admitted that human lordship is a consequence of the Fall and so the authority of princes is a human invention but not without divine sanction. As kingdoms became more nationalistic and separate the oneness of society could not be found except in the super-national Church, which in itself constituted a perfect society to which universal power could be ascribed. The idea of the unity of mankind is ever to the fore as an ideal until the Renaissance when the idea was rejected by the world though kept by the Church. The Head of the Church's general power over everyone spiritually and temporally in case of need was always asserted by the Popes Gregory VII, Innocent III and IV, Boniface VIII, and so on, and by Saints such as St. Anselm, St. Thomas of Canterbury and others, and by Canonists such as Hugh of St. Victor, Aegidius Romanus, Augustinus Triumphus, Alvarius Pelagius and many more, and all these claim by a logical sequence of reasoning that the Pope is the universal monarch of, at least, all Christian folk. The Renaissance and the events of modern times have obscured much of this theory, especially in its more exuberant forms, but its truth remains. Cardinal Bellarmine certainly held that the Pope has a power, even of deposition, over all temporal sovereigns, and our modern Canonists would defend this view as a true doctrine; while, nevertheless, holding that the Pope alone can determine the opportuneness or the reverse of exercising such power. I say not that this power has often been exercised since the xvi century nor is likely to be, I am merely showing that it is there.

Against the outrageous conception of the absolute prince or state a sort of antidote appeared in the same century (xvi) in the idea of the lawfulness of tyrannicide, an idea which is likewise based on the *Neo-Classicism* of the day with an admixture of *Neo-Judaism*. The classical examples are numerous, there is Brutus, there is Thrasybulos, who rebelled against Kritias and

the tyranny of the Thirty, and there are Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Moreover, it cannot be denied that instances with divine sanction may be found in the Old Testament. The deposition of the anointed Saul was ordered by God to Samuel, though his killing in cold blood was reproved by David, and the death of Sisera by Jael was approved, as well as the acts of Jehu.

The theory is best seen in its treatment by the famous Mariana who was moved to protest, with some exaggeration, against teaching such as Botero's. Mariana drew a picture of the tyrant who deserved murder so abstract in its enormity that we believe few rulers have ever come anywhere near to its requirements. He also made a great difference between killing a tyrant out of your own notion and removal by an external authority. The practical question was round the murder of Henry III, and curiously enough Mariana's opponent, the Gallican Michel Roussel, in his defense of the last Valois admits in substance that Mariana is right in the abstract; a conclusion to which he could hardly have intended to arrive. The famous Jesuit wanted some authority for the act and I suppose if, *per impossible*, the Pope authorised some definite person, unmistakably and unequivocally, to murder a particular tyrant, Mariana would have been satisfied. As it was, the book was condemned and burned by order of the Sorbonne but in his own country, under an absolute king, Mariana incurred no trouble on those grounds. There was a certain lumpiness about the Sorbonne: in the case of Erasmus and now of Mariana and at scores of other times, that august body could not distinguish between a joke or a purely abstract argument and one which was intended to be taken practically.

The excessive adulation of the divine right by a natural reaction produced and excused the idea of tyrannicide. As often happens, one evil produced another and the idea was there long before Mariana attempted to give it some justification by eliminating its casual application. The idea is confined to no one religion or people. It was present in the mind of Lorenzino de'Medici no less than in those of the ultra Leaguers; Coligny rejoiced over the crime of Potrot de Méré, though he did not organise it, and Knox has far too much to say about the duty of killing idolaters and malignant tyrants. Even so moderate a

man as Melanchthon, in a moment of depression, expressed a hope that some one would dispose of Henry VIII. At a later time the Rye House conspirators were imbued with the same theory and in an *Encyclopedia* of 1866 we read, *that Lord W. Russell and Algernon Sidney have won an imperishable name and are amongst the most glorious of the martyrs for English liberty.* The continuity of the Renaissance is constantly appearing and at times in unlikely places. From that standpoint, it would be an easy step to justify the murder of Abraham Lincoln, if you were a Southern patriot, or for that matter the murder of the Empress Elizabeth, if you were a conscientious anarchist, the whole matter becomes purely relative and depends on the judgment of any one individual. That is a reduction of the idea to a justification of mere fanaticism, and, indeed, such is the logical conclusion of the argument of the writer in *Chamber's Encyclopedia.* Doubtless he would be horrified, but in comparison Mariana was a preacher of the doctrine of non-resistance.

Absolutism never in this country took quite the logical form of the *Civilians* because in Tudor times a servile and frequently packed parliament gave its consent to the sovereign's will, and thus a veil of constitutionalism, to use an anachronism, was thrown over the nakedness of the despotism. Next in order, the Common Law acted as a curb on the infringement of personal liberty and finally the Civil War intervened. This war rendered the renewal of the royal absolutism forever impossible, but the Protectorate proved the possibility of another and this time a military despotism, against which Charles I protested up to the moment of his death. Charles died for liberty, not the figment of radical politicians but the freedom of the individual and the right to be oneself which is after all the only liberty which the ordinary person wants.

The Protectorate and Commonwealth were the first examples of pure militarism, in the modern sense, in history, though the system which has become the curse of Europe is the direct legacy of the Revolutionary France.

We can now see the evolution of the idea of limitless power from the xvi century onwards. The prince of the *Civilians,* Caesarism and the personified state, the militarism of the saints

(the godly shall possess the land), Hobbesism and Gallicanism, both forms of personification and omnicompetence, and so by natural development, through Locke and the philosophers, to the tyranny of a spectre of metaphysical liberty, equality and fraternity and the deification of the state with death for all who dare to deny the new deity, and this is Bolshevism. Once more continuity appears in unsuspected places, this time Paris and Moscow. It is to be noticed that the various links in this chain relied for support on distorted passages of Scripture or on a false philosophy and this brings us to very modern times indeed.

Perhaps we are now, in some measure, able to estimate the great significance which the Renaissance had for the future of the Western World and the line of demarcation which it made between mediaeval and modern Europe.

It is unphilosophical to divide the history of mankind into arbitrary compartments and in fact the teaching of history has suffered much from that habit. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience and even of understanding, some dividing lines vague and elastic there must be, and if only we avoid the water-tight compartment theory we shall do no violence to either fact or reason. Men thought and acted 2,000 years ago in a way in which they did not 1,000 years past: who can fathom the gulf which separated the men of 1000 from those of 1530? Again, what an abyss opens before us when we consider the short period which separates us from the youth of our grandparents. Yet there is a common outlook on many points amongst all those who have existed from the Renaissance up to now. We should understand each others' problems and difficulties and appreciate the aspect of Europe in all that concerns its politics, economics and education. The processes of thought would be much the same. We know that we can read and follow clearly the arguments of the politician or philosopher of the xvi century; their literature is ours and a cultured man of those days would not find much difficulty in conversing with a similar man of to-day, or in appreciating the xix century literature. Only, as we remarked some time back, would the modern world of science, which includes of course all inventions, be wholly strange to him: but would it be very much more strange than to a man who died in 1825 or even to one who died in 1895? Time alone does

nothing; we do not know what it is or if it be anything at all; but in the course of 100 years, in the course of 50 and even in the course of 15 there may be an outburst of intellectual activity in which more startling changes are wrought than in the lapse of centuries, and so a true dividing line as we count time is created. This is the significance of the xvi century, that then, whether for good or evil, our modern period begins. There is no question of intrinsic superiority; in many ways, as we have seen, the pre-Renaissance society was far more noble; there is no question of progress, about the reality of which many doubts can be entertained, but only of the comparative familiarity of conditions of life with those of the present time. Another useful point for our consideration is that of the existence of history, when we are seeking for the explanation and perhaps even the solution of many thorny questions. After taking a survey of over two centuries in connection with a perenially troublesome matter in Europe, Sir Adam Block exclaimed: *There is nothing like history. Without it one cannot get the right perspective; it explains and makes reasonable, though it does not necessarily excuse, what else were sheer nationalistic cussedness.* If we take some of the more tiresome of political matters in Europe to-day such as Poland, Alsace and Lorraine, the *disjecta membra* of the Habsburg empire, to name only these, we shall certainly fail to form any true ideas if we do not go back 300 years: to confine ourselves to purely modern times, to the last fifty years, will be to fall into the error of most governments and all newspapers and we shall be left with nothing but opinions. It is also substantially true to say that for this understanding there is no need to go beyond the Renaissance. The various theories of government and politics which we have been considering in this paper were truly unknown before the xvi century. Therefore it is permissible to see in that period something quite different from the other arbitrary divisions in history. This side of the Renaissance Europe is modern, by which I really mean familiar, whereas on the further side Europe is wholly unfamiliar, call it mediaeval or primitive or what you will.

The immediate causative reasons for the new world, physically and intellectually, seem to lie in the existence of the Ottoman Turks and the quarrels and disintegration of Europe. The

schism following on the return of the Popes to Rome was hardly healed, England and France were tearing each other to pieces in the final stages of the hundred years war, the Empire was paralysed by the revolted Bohemian heretics and the chief naval power, Venice, was wholly absorbed in the Levant trade and indifferent to moral considerations. The Turks' hour had come when the heroic Constantine Palaeologus was killed on the walls of his own capital, and all this arose from the supineness of Europe. There was no necessity about it; a strong Papal, Venetian and Frankish force would have made all the difference. Well, the way East to India and to other oriental marts was closed for the Turks have obstructive habits, and the seafaring folk of the West, Spain and Portugal, turned their ideas and energies to finding an alternative route to the Indies, which resulted in the discovery of America. Venice had the appropriate punishment of seeing much of her trade literally go west; the Empire had to fight for three centuries to stem the Turkish invasion of Europe; while the most Christian kings, who were wiser than the children of light, from the reign of Francis I have maintained a fairly close entente with the rulers of Constantinople.

The Turks were not only obstructive but were unpleasant neighbors for civilised Christians. Consequently, there was a great exodus of Greeks who carried with them the knowledge of that language and also many precious manuscripts. These settled in Italy and by them was spread the knowledge of the literature and arts of antiquity which the Florentine and Roman genius so readily absorbed and so wonderfully developed, and this was the Renaissance, the course of which we have tried to follow, and without which the modern world, in the form in which we know it, could hardly have come into being.

We have concluded with a few words as to the immediate, we may almost call them the physical, causes of the Renaissance; but I object to all fatalistic views of history, none of them help and the whole idea is a form of laziness. History deals with human beings who, using their freewill, make their times and are not the product of their times, as Goethe realised when he wrote: *what you call the spirit of the times is nothing but the spirit of the all then men in which the times are reflected.* Men

are as much responsible for the state of the world in the xvi century as in the vi and for that matter in the xx. But if it be meant that all the acts of the human race, their crimes no less than their good deeds, are never outside the providence of God who disposes of them by His wisdom and goodness to bring wholly unexpected order out of apparent chaos, then that is a reasonable and true theory. Euripides even had some idea of a vague supernatural dispensation in the closing chorus of *Alcestis*, which may, not unfittingly, also close this paper which has been so largely concerned with the revival of the ancient learning.

Πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων
Πολλὰ δ'ἀέλπτος κραίνουσι θεοι;
Καί τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὔκ ἐτελέσθη,
Τῶν δ'ἀδοκήτων πόρον ευρε θεός.

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THE TWELVE ANATHEMATIZATIONS OF ST. CYRIL[1]

The Twelve "Anathematisms"[2] closing the Synodal Letter addressed to Nestorius by St. Cyril and the Council of Alexandria on November 3, 430, hold a most prominent place in the history of Nestorianism and of Monophysitism, from the fifth to the eighth century and beyond. Such a long history, bristling with the acute, subtle and interminable metaphysical disputes wherein the Oriental mind has ever revelled, would fill a respectable tome; obviously it could be recounted but very superficially within the narrow compass of a paper like this. Infinitely less ambitious is my aim. It was clearly defined in the query first suggested as a heading for these pages: "Were the Twelve 'Anathematisms' of St. Cyril read and approved at the Council of Ephesus?"

Of the six Sessions of the Council, the first was the only one which in any way concerned itself with St. Cyril's 'Anathematisms': to the Minutes of this first Session, therefore, it behooves us to turn for first-hand information as to what took place on that momentous Monday, June 22, 431.

After much wrangling between the one hundred and sixty bishops[3] assembled, on the one hand, and, on the other, Count Candidianus, representing Emperor Theodosius II., accompanied by a committee of the sixty-eight bishops, who, the day before, had signed a petition demanding the postponement of the debates until the arrival of John of Antioch and the prelates of his patriarchate, the Council, overruling all objections, resolved to start at once the proceedings. The committee sent the day

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1 Paper read at Fifth Annual Meeting Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 29-31, 1924.

2 However ill-qualified the writer of this paper may be to pass judgment on a matter of English diction, he must confess his feeling an insuperable dislike for the word "Anathematizations" in reference to the present subject-matter. The Dictionary, consistent with the rules of formation of English words, defines "Anathematization" the pronouncing of an anathema, in other words, the actual exercise by ecclesiastical authority of its power of excluding from the body grievous offenders. "Anathematism," on the other hand, stands for the formula of the ban. Obsolete though it is, it is therefore the only appropriate word here, and it will be used without further scruple.

3 Exactly 159 bishops; the other member was Bessula, Deacon of Carthage, representing Bishop Capreolus of that City.

before to summon Nestorius having reported the evasive reply returned by the Bishop of Constantinople, twice more an attempt was made to induce him to appear: the first time Nestorius gave a dilatory answer; and to the other summons he did not deign to send any reply. The progress of the work of the assembly should not be thwarted by his contumacy; hence, on the motion of Juvenalis of Jerusalem, the Fathers passed on to the examination of the dogmatic issue. According to a now time-honored custom, first the Nicene Creed was read—the standard with which all doctrines should conform. Then followed the reading of the second Letter, or Τομός of Cyril to Nestorius.[4] As after its perusal Cyril asked the Assembly whether its statements conformed with the faith of Nicaea, a unanimous affirmative answer was returned by the bishops, one hundred and thirty-six of whom successively rose up to comment on their vote.

Frequently the assertion has been made, and it was renewed recently by the latest historian of the Nestorian controversy,[5] that this letter was approved by Pope Celestine I. and "canonized" at this Session of the Council. Such expressions are equivocal, and should be carefully qualified, under pain of conveying an erroneous conclusion. Pope Celestine, to whom Cyril, in the spring 430, sent this letter together with all the other documents pertaining to the affair, in his reply, dated August 11 of the same year, approved indeed the doctrine and conduct of the Patriarch of Alexandria; but evidently this approval, contained in a letter which, weighty though it be, would be nowadays styled a Rescript of the Holy Office, cannot be regarded as an *ex cathedra* pronouncement. In like manner, the exaggerated expressions of some of the Ephesus prelates on this occasion ought not to mislead the wary reader. When, for instance, Fidus, Bishop of Joppe, explaining his vote, exclaimed that that letter "had been written under the dictation of the Holy Ghost," he was clearly carried by his enthusiasm far beyond the limits of theological soberness. He, moreover, was speaking for him-

4 This was not the Synodal Letter concluding with the twelve "anathematisms," but the important and famous Letter of February 430, justly regarded, despite its labored and stilted style, as St. Cyril's masterpiece.

5 M. JUGIE. *Nestorius et la Controverse Nestorienne*, Paris, 1912, p. 36, n. 2.

self before the Council, and not for the Council. On the other hand, the question put to the Fathers assembled was merely, whether the doctrine expounded in the letter just read was, or was not, in agreement with the faith of Nicaea; and the unanimous "Yea," no matter with what rhetorical flourishes it was adorned, did not go beyond the bare affirmation of the orthodoxy of Cyril's theology contained in the document submitted.

Contrasting with this unanimous approval was the equally unanimous reprobation of Nestorius' answer to Cyril, the reading of which followed. Here again, as before, a number of bishops—thirty-four—deemed it proper to emphasize the why and wherefore of their vote. It is not pertinent to our present purpose to comment on the Council's verdict: suffice it to remark that the anathemas then hurled at the Bishop of Constantinople, his teaching and his abettors were the cry of horror elicited by his tenets, and not yet a formal Conciliar condemnation, which, however, they permit to forecast.

Two more letters were communicated to the Assembly: the one, of Pope Celestine I. (August 11, 430), informing Nestorius of the sentence brought against him by the Council just held in Rome, and demanding, under pain of destitution, his submission within ten days of the notification; the other, of Cyril, endorsed by the Council of Alexandria (November 3, 430), wherein the Patriarch, empowered by Celestine to execute the Roman sentence, stipulated that the Bishop of Constantinople should signify his submission by subscribing not merely the Nicene Creed, (the meaning of whose words he wantonly distorted), but a long dogmatic formulary condensed in the twelve "Anathematisms" which concluded the letter. Judging from the Acts of the Council, no vote followed the reading of these two documents, and no comments were made. But of this more anon.

Meanwhile, were the twelve "Anathematisms" actually read? No one, to my knowledge, ever raised the question until the late Rev. V. Ermoni, C.M., in his Thesis *De Leontio Byzantino et de ejus Doctrina Christologica*, defended before the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic Institute of Paris (1895), cast some doubts upon the fact. Saith the learned writer:

"Quanquam verum est epistolam ipsam synodalem

> Synodi Alexandrinae fuisse perlectam coram Patribus Ephesinis, non penitus constat ipsos anathematismos epistolae adnexos recitatos fuisse."[6]

At the public defense of this thesis, Msgr. (now His Eminence) Peter Gasparri, one of the judges, took exception to this statement, which the candidate maintained, invoking in last resort the authority of the Rev. (later Rt. Rev. Msgr.) L. Duchesne. Unfortunately the latter had, a short time before, left the Catholic Institute of Paris for the French Academy in Rome, and could not intervene in the debate. Still that the candidate's appeal to the famous historian's opinion was justified at the time, I have reasons to know; though, at a later date, Msgr. Duchesne reverted to the common view.[7]

And rightly. For it is the only view countenanced by the Acts of the Council. In these we read:

> Flavian, Bishop of Philippi, said: "Have also this letter read, and afterwards filed among the Exhibits.
>
> Peter, Priest of Alexandria and head Secretary read the letter: Cyril and the Synod of the Province of Egypt assembled at Alexandria, to Nestorius, our most religious and pious colleague in the sacred ministry, Greeting in the Lord.
>
> Whereas our Saviour clearly declares: Whoever loves father or mother more than me, etc.
>
> And the letter was read as given above in the Exhibits.

There is some uncertainty as to the genuine reading of the last sentence, because the Greek text of it is given by the manuscripts in two different ways. This, however, does not matter in the least, as the two phrases ὥσπερ προλάμπει and καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη καθὼς προτέτακται, convey identically the same meaning, namely, that the Synodal of Alexandria was read just as it stands among the Exhibits. Since its text there contains the twelve "Anathematisms," the obvious conclusion ought to be that these too must have been read.

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6 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.
7 *Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise*, t. III, p. 351.

Yet another proof, stronger by far, is the fact that the "Anathematisms" are an integrant part of the letter and inseparable from it. For after explaining at length all the theology of the union of the two natures in Christ, St. Cyril winds up with these words:

> This is what we have learned to hold, this is what we have been taught to believe not only by the holy Apostles and Evangelists, but also by the whole body of the Sacred and Divine Scriptures, and lastly by the truthful consent of the holy Fathers. This you too must subscribe; this you must in good sooth and without equivocation profess with us. Now the things (i. e., propositions) which Your Reverence must anathematize are subjoined (ὑποτέταχται) to this our letter.

To stop the reading here, before the twelve "Anathematisms" would have been, therefore, actually to omit the most important portion of the letter, that against which Nestorius ever after fought desperately, namely, the propositions which he must subscribe.

The twelve "Anathematisms," then, were undoubtedly read at the first Session of the Council. That they were *not* approved, is now commonly held by historians as beyond dispute. Bardenhewer seems to be the last defender of the contrary hopeless assertion. As usual, theologians have been slower in abandoning the old position; and even though, more than thirty years ago, Schwane noted carefully that the Acts of the Council contain no decision respecting the Synodal of Alexandria, yet in Denziger-Bannwart's *Enchiridion* we still find among the Decrees of the Council of Ephesus the *Anathematismi Cyrilli*, with the rubric: *Anathematismos istos synodus III. suscepit;* Herrmann (1914) setting about to show that the proposition: *Unica est in Christo, eaque divina persona,* is of faith, invokes as his first authority what he calls the second Canon of Ephesus, that is, in reality, our second "Anathematism"; finally—for we must limit ourselves—in Pohle-Preuss' Christology we read (p. 91): "His (St. Cyril's) twelve anathematisms against Nestorius were

approved by that Council (Ephesus) as "canonical," i. e., as articles of faith."

What at first sight is very strange is that the Acts of the Council record no comments and no vote touching a document of such exceptional consequence as the Synodal (Celestine I.'s) letter appears to have likewise passed without remark or sign of approval. Yet that the assembled bishops were highly gratified with the contents and spirit of these two letters, cannot be doubted for a moment, in view of the past and future actions of the Fathers during that Session. This silence of the Acts has long since puzzled historians. Tillemont, for one, reluctant to believe that the bishops had not paused to consider as they deserved these two letters, the latter particularly, ventured to suppose here a *lacuna* (whether accidental or deliberate, deponent sayeth not) in the Acts as handed down to us.

To this hypothesis of the ever clear-sighted and conscientious Tillemont, the records of the assembly held by the Oriental Bishops after their arrival at Ephesus lend coloring. At the end of their Report to the Emperor, we read:

> Moreover, the heresy-tainted propositions which Cyril of Alexandria recently ventilated, on which he tacked some bootless and silly Anathematisms, and for which, moreover, he strove to obtain the vote, subscription and sanction of the Bishops, this Holy Council assembled at Ephesus explodes, and declares to be contrary to orthodox faith.

The Oriental prelates here positively assert that the Bishop of Alexandria attempted to foist on the Council his hateful "Anathematisms"; in their minds Cyril's wish to have them approved was the father of his thought of presenting the letter. Still they say nothing about the fulfilment of that wish. Neither can it even be affirmed from their carefully worded statement that there was among the Bishops of Cyril's party the least discussion about it.

It is worthy of notice that in Cyril's voluminous correspondence after the Council, particularly during the laborious transactions which finally culminated, in 434-435, in the acquiescence

of the Oriental bishops in the decisions of Ephesus, nowhere is a hint given that the "Anathematisms" were the object of any approval or even discussion; yet they are mentioned scores of times. The Patriarch of Alexandria always firmly maintained they were the expression of the true and traditional faith; still he no less emphatically disclaimed any pretension to introduce thereby any new symbol: sufficient for the rule of faith, he declared, were the Sacred Scriptures, the Holy Fathers and the Nicene Creed. Hence he was satisfied even if no reference was made to the "Anathematisms" in the protocol of union of the Oriental bishops, provided the condemnation of Nestorius and his heresy was subscribed to. On this account Nestorius, or whoever is the Nestorian author of the *rudis indigestaque moles* known under the title of "The Book of Heraclides of Damascus," through a hundred and more pages never tires of accusing Cyril of dissimulation, and John of Antioch of fickleness; still he never asserts (and he shows he was well informed of all that had taken place at Ephesus) that the bishops assembled under Cyril ever examined or approved the "Anathematisms."

In view of all this, it is hard to admit, even hypothetically, with Tillemont the loss from the Acts of the pages where once stood the record of the Council's judgment both on Celestine's letter and on the Alexandrian Synodal. Nay more, upon closer consideration, it will be found quite natural and proper that the reading of these two documents should have passed without any comment whatever.

Pope Celestine I., as has been marked above, wrote to Cyril on August 11, 430, enclosing a letter for Nestorius and empowering the Patriarch of Alexandria to carry out the sentence of excommunication and deposition against his contumacious colleague of Constantinople. In compliance with Rome's commission, Cyril, on November 3, sent through Theopemptos, Daniel, Potamon and Somaros his Synodal letter. But before the Alexandrine messengers reached Constantinople, on December 6, a warning of the impending condemnation, accompanied by an earnest exhortation to submit had been received by Nestorius from John of Antioch. For some time the desirableness of a Council had been vaguely talked of on all sides. When the Archimandrite Basil appealed personally to the Emperor

against the heretical teaching of Nestorius and his ill-treatment of the monks, he openly suggested the calling of a general Council as the only remedy capable of coping adequately with the extremely grave situation. It seems, too, that, on receiving the letter of John of Antioch, Nestorius made the same suggestion. At any rate, on November 19, 430, a *Sacra* was sent from the Eastern Capital, in the name of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., summoning all the metropolitans to a Council to be convened on the next Pentecost (June 7, 431) at Ephesus. Whatever credit should be given to the Bishop of Constantinople for this diplomatic move, at all events it altered at once his desperate position. Such was the state of affairs when Cyril's commissioners landed at Constantinople on December 6, 430. When, therefore, on the next day, they handed solemnly at St. Sophia's the ultimatum of the Alexandrine Patriarch to Nestorius, the latter could well affect to receive it unconcernedly, determined as he was to ignore it, on the plea that the convocation of the Council created a change of venue, and removed the cognizance of his cause from the delegated jurisdiction of Cyril.[8]

The first intimation of this new development must have greatly perplexed the Patriarch of Alexandria. Should the plea of change of venue be admitted, or rather regarded as an evasion and overruled? But the latter course involved disobedience to a categorical *caveat* of the Emperor.[9]. . . . Cyril confided his embarrassment to the Pope, who, in his reply, exhorted the Patriarch to leave no stone unturned, in order to bring Nestorius to resipiscence: should the latter remain obdurate, he would have only himself to blame for the consequence. This papal rescript amounted to a suspension of the proceedings against the accused Bishop until the opening of the Council.

Accordingly, both Celestine's letter and Cyril's Synodal, whilst remaining, at the time of the Council, a lucid *exposé* of

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8 He indeed confidently hoped that, the favor of Theodosius II. helping, he would successfully so improve the opportunity afforded by the delay, that the roles would be reversed, and the "Alexandrian" would come to the Council not so much as a judge, but as a defendant. This challenge he issued publicly from the pulpit five days after the receipt of Cyril's ultimatum (December 12, 430).

9 "Meanwhile until the opening of the Most Holy Council and the judgment that will be given by all on all the points at issue, let no one presume to introduce any change whatever." *Sacra*, Theodosius II. to Cyril.

the Catholic faith, were, in their dispositive part—the most important part at the time of their writing—abrogated. Their actual interest, therefore, was chiefly retrospective, and it is merely *pour mémoire,* (as a record of what was to be done, when the Emperor interposed a change of procedure), that they were read before the Council. In these conditions, there was obviously no call for any expression of opinion on these two letters, and still less for any approval of them.

In consequence, Tillemont's hypothesis of a gap in the Minutes is not only useless, but I dare say out of place.

Just a word, before closing, to anyone inclined to delve into the long subsequent history of St. Cyril's "Anathematisms." I think that proper attention has not been paid in general to the terminology used in the documents pertaining to this subject. A distinction should carefully be made between what they call St. Cyril's κεφαλαῖα and his ἀναθεματισμοί; and I am under the impression that this distinction may eventually lead to a certain revision and more accurate estimate of the approbation given later on, particularly at the Council of Chalcedon, to the κεφαλαῖα of the zealous champion of the θεοτόκος.

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THE EARLIEST LIFE OF ST. COLUMCILLE[1]

"In little more than seven years time, Ireland and all who are of Irish origin throughout the world will be reminded that a thousand and half a thousand years have passed since the greatest event in Irish history took place—St. Patrick's mission to Ireland. All will earnestly wish to see that event worthily celebrated, and each one will wish to have some part in its worthy celebration. It is not too soon to be thinking about it, nor too soon to consider preparations. Seven years will not be too long a time for the actual work of preparation, in order that the commemoration may be worthy of the event, worthy of the man who was chosen to achieve it, and worthy of the people who were born again 1500 years ago to be a Christian nation."

I quote the opening words of an article by Eoin MacNeill, Professor of Early Irish History in the National University of Ireland and Minister of Education in the Irish Free State, an article which appeared in the June, 1924, issue of that excellent Irish review, *Studies*. With this article, and with the comments by various other scholars which are appended to it, every person who is interested in Irish history, and, I think I may add, every person who is interested in the history of Catholicity, should make himself familiar. Dr. MacNeill's paper is a plea for the establishment, as a permanent memorial of the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the coming of St. Patrick, of an institution for the publication, in scholarly form, of the *Monumenta Hiberniae*, the historical records of Ireland. Dr. MacNeill does not mention—though some of his commentators do—the German parallel, but it is evident that he has in mind a work similar to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* of the *Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, now just about a century old. In the appended comments it is, indeed, pointed out that, for the adequate carrying out of such a programme, provision must be made for the publication of preliminary criticisms and auxiliary studies of the various texts and classes of texts, such provision

1 Paper read at Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 27-29, 1924.

as the German society makes through its well known *Neues Archiv*.

One field of Irish history that, we may hope, would benefit especially from such an undertaking is that of Hagiography, a field nearly, though perhaps not quite, as much neglected as any other. A great part of the Irish *Acta Sanctorum* have been published in some form: but, in addition to the texts that still await a first edition, the reprinting of many of those in print is most desirable, not only because of the difficulty of securing copies of older publications, and of the fact that even the best of these in time drop behind in standard of scholarship, but also because the editors, remote and recent, have very frequently fallen short in historical and hagiological criticism, or in knowledge of the Irish language and of Irish history, or, indeed, in both these essential qualifications. The two splendid collections edited by Dr. Charles Plummer have done something to meet our needs in this field, but his editions are not definitive to the degree that this may be predicated of the best recent publications of the Bollandists and of the editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

Perhaps more needed than the printing of texts is that critical study of the texts which is necessary both before and after publication if our editions are to be worth while and if a fruitful historical harvest is to result. Considerable critical study has been devoted to the documents relating to St. Patrick and to those relating to St. Brendan the Navigator, but for the rest the history of Irish hagiography in general, and of the development of the lives and legends of each saint in particular, remains to be written. Some years since an Irish student of Latin name, Mario Esposito, who has done much to put on a basis of sound scholarship the study of the Latin sources of early Irish history, undertook to prepare a critical edition of the Life of St. Brigid by Cogitosus, perhaps the oldest of our *Vitae Sanctorum*. When he had compiled a list of the extant manuscripts, and contemplated the task of securing transcripts and making the necessary collations, he abandoned the undertaking in despair.[2] It is to be hoped that means may be found soon to resume the project and

2 See his paper "On the earliest Latin Life of St. Brigid of Kildare" *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* vol. XXX sect. C. no. 11 (1912) pp. 307-26.

carry it to success. The *Acta* of the third member of the famous triumvirate of Irish hagiology, St. Columba, or Columcille, of Iona, call for both republication and critical investigation. The great edition by William Reeves of the Life by Adamnan, regarding which F. E. Warren, the liturgiologist, declared, with, perhaps, pardonable exaggeration, "it is doubtful whether in the annals of literature so much important information has ever before been so lavishly accumulated and so skilfully arranged within a few hundred pages, or whether any other editorial task has ever been more thoroughly executed," this edition neither in text nor in commentary is abreast of present-day scholarship. Prolegomena to a new study of the sources on Columcille are provided, as so often on other topics of primarily Irish interest, by the stranger: Fräulein Gertrud Brüning, of Paderborn, published, in 1916, in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, and also as a dissertation at the university of Bonn, an important study entitled "Adamnans Vita Columbae und ihre Ableitungen."

Miss Brüning regards Adamnan's as the earliest Life of St. Columcille ,and argues, as have others, that the *Vita* attributed to Cuimine Ailbhe, or Cummeneus Albus, which, if genuine, would dispute with Cogitosus' Life of St. Brigid the honor of being the earliest example of Irish hagiography, is simply a collection of excerpts from Adamnan. In the present paper the salient features of this question will be summarily sketched, as an example of hundreds of such problems that offer their challenge to the skill of the knight-errant of historical criticism who will venture into the domain of Ireland's past.

St. Columcille was born in 521, founded his chief monastery on the island of Hy, or Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, in 563, and died in 597. There is some controversy as to the dates, but these may be accepted as approximately correct. His sixth successor in the abbacy was Cuimine Ailbhe, who ruled from 657 to 669; second after Cuimine was Adamnan, abbot from 679 to 704. Mention should also be made of Dorbene, who, we are told, held the primacy of Iona for five months before his death in 713, although another abbot, Dunchadh, was ruling from 707 to 717. The truth seems to be, as was suggested by Skene[3] many years

3 *Celtic Scotland* II (2nd ed. 1887) p. 175.

ago, that the adoption of the Roman in place of the Celtic Easter by Adamnan produced a schism in the community of Iona, and that Dorbene was of the party who followed Adamnan in accepting the Roman system. This probability that Adamnan and Dorbene were very close associates is of importance if, as we believe, Dorbene is the scribe of the oldest manuscript of Adamnan's Life of Columba, now preserved at the Schaffhausen city library. The scribe signs his name Dorbbeneus, a name of very rare occurrence: that the manuscript is of the era of the abbot Dorbene, although denied by d'Arbois de Jubainville, is accepted by W. M. Lindsay,[4] than whom there is no greater authority on early Irish palaeography.

But to return to the seventh abbot, Cuimene Ailbhe. That he wrote a treatise on St. Columba we have the testimony of the Schaffhausen manuscript: that is to say, of this Dorbene, Adamnan's friend and successor; though possibly not the testimony of Adamnan himself, for the passage in question—a notice of Cuimene's report of a prophecy uttered by Columba regarding King Aedan of the "Scottish," *i. e.* Irish colony in north Britain, and his offspring—appears to be an addition to the original text.

In 1668 Mabillon, in his *Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*,[5] published a Life of Columba which his source, a manuscript of Compiègne, ascribed to "Cummeneus Albus." The same text, though with many minor variations, had been published by the great Irish hagiologist Colgan in 1647, in his *Triadis Thaumaturgae*,[6] from a transcript made, some time after 1575, by a certain Nicolaus Belfortius, a Canon Regular of Soissons, of a manuscript otherwise unknown. Colgan, however, did not obtain from Belfort, who perhaps had not himself, any information as to the author's name. Mabillon's manuscript has since disappeared, but Miss Brüning lists two codices of the thirteenth century, and one of the fifteenth, which contain the same *Vita*.

Was this document the same as that which Dorbene knew?

It runs closely parallel to certain sections of Adamnan's Life. In fact, fully ninety per cent. of the text of Cuimine is to be

4 *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford: 1910), pp. 1-2.
5 I pp. 361-6.
6 Pp. 321-4.

found in Adamnan; but expanded by the addition of words, phrases, and sentences to such a degree that, of the corresponding chapters, Adamnan's are of two or three times the bulk of Cuimine's.

The following table indicates the chapters of Adamnan which are parallel to those of Cuimine:

Cuimine		*Adamnan*			
Cap.	i	*Lib.*	III	*cap.*	i
"	ii	"	"	"	ii
"	iii	"	"	"	iv
"	iv, first sentence	"	"	"	iv
"	iv, remainder of chapter	"	II	"	i
"	v	"	III	"	v
"	vi	"	"	"	vi
"	vii	"	"	"	xi
"	viii	"	"	"	xii
"	ix	"	"	"	viii
"	x	"	"	"	xv
"	xi	"	"	"	xvi
"	xii	"	"	"	xvii
"	xiii	"	"	"	xviii
"	xiv	"	II	"	xxxvii
"	xv	"	III	"	xix
"	xvi	"	"	"	xxii
"	xvii	"	"	"	xxii xxiii
"	xviii-xxiv	"	III	"	xxiii
"	xxv	"	I	"	i viii
		"	II	"	xxxii xxxiii xxvi xxi
"	xxvi	"	"	"	xliv
"	xxvii	"	I	"	iii

It will be seen that the first twenty-four chapters of Cuimine are, with two exceptions, incorporated into the third book of

Adamnan. Now, both logically and formally, the original text of Cuimine ends with this chapter twenty-four. After describing the death of the saint and the great storm that prevented the people of the neighborhood from coming to the funeral, the chapter ends: "Sepulto denique sancto, vento cessante et sedata tempestate, quieverunt undae marinae: Gloria tibi Domine, Amen."

Of the two chapters which are not found in Adamnan's Book III, one, chapter iv (Adamnan Book II, chapter i), is, equally certainly, an interpolation of later date. It comes in awkwardly and irrationally, and is exactly the kind of anecdote—the first miracle, the changing of water into wine—that a mediaeval copyist would be likely to insert. The other, chapter xiv (Adamnan Book II, chapter xxxvii) does not carry such ear-marks of interpolation. *If* it was part of the original text of Cuimine, and *if* that text was prior to, and used by, Adamnan, the reason why this chapter alone was not incorporated by that writer into his third book was, doubtless, because it alone—an account of a hunting weapon of miraculous powers given by the saint to a certain poor man—could not be strained into doing service under the general title which he gave to his third book, "De Angelicis Visionibus."

For it is to be noted that whatever may be the origin of the document bearing Cuimine's name, it certainly has a biographical setting, beginning with Columcille's birth and childhood, ending with his death, and in the interval narrating a number of miraculous events, perhaps in what was believed to be chronological order. But Adamnan's composition is not of this kind: it is designed to be a record of the wonders of the saint, arranged, without regard to chronology, in three great categories: prophecies, miracles of power, and angelic visitations.

It results that the *Vita* attributed to Cuimine, with the possible exception of one chapter, forms part of the third book of Adamnan, where, however, it has been greatly expanded, and where many other episodes have been introduced to form additional chapters. Of the subject-matter of Adamnan's first and second books there is, except for the one exception just noted, nothing whatsoever in Cuimine.

The verbal expansion of Adamnan's text, as compared with Cuimine's, when treating of the same topics, depends chiefly on

three factors: literary dressing; details of description or narrative, interesting, but, to the hagiographer, unessential; and certain elements of precision, especially proper names and other identifications of persons and places.

There are two main theories regarding this *Vita Columbae*: (1) the traditional view since Mabillon's time, that it is the genuine composition of Cuimine Ailbhe, and was incorporated by Adamnan into his compilation; (2) that it is an abridgment of Adamnan, extracted from his work by some later hagiographer and afterwards identified with the lost Life by Cuimine. This has been the view held by Schoell, Thomas Duffus Hardy, Loofs, Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, Gertrud Brüning, and the historian who seems to have inspired Miss Brüning's work, the great German mediaevalist, Wilhelm Levison. There is, indeed, a third theory, recently propounded by Bruno Albers,[7] that the so-called Life by Cuimine is really an early composition of Adamnan himself, later replaced by his larger work, but it is a theory that has met with little favor from the critics.

The chief arguments on which the attack on the traditional view is based may be summarized as follows:

(1) Textually, the so-called Cuimine Life has all the appearance of being what Hardy called a "judicious abridgment."—There is force in this argument, but no person has yet made the minute textual examination which will be necessary before a stronger word than "appearance" can be used. Probably such an investigation cannot be made until we have new critical editions of both documents.

(2) There are anachronisms in the text. One of these is found in chapter xxvi, which, as has been seen, was not part of the original composition. It may, therefore, be neglected. Miss Brüning believes that she finds another in chapter v, in connection with that prophecy of Columba regarding King Aedan and his offspring which has been mentioned. The text states that Columba warned King Aedan that his children would lose their "regnum" if they acted treacherously towards the saint or his posterity, that is, as it is usually interpreted, the royal family of

7 "Zu den beiden ersten Lebensbeschreibungen des Abtes Columba von Iona" *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweigen* XXXIII (1912) 406-20.

which Columba was a member: "which" proceeds the passage, "so happened, for, transgressing the injunction of the man of God, they lost the *regnum*." Miss Brüning thinks the allusion is to the passing of the sceptre from the descendants of Aedan to another branch of the royal race of Dal Riada, an event which took place in or about 689 and, since Cuimine Ailbhe died in 669, could not have been known to him. But this is not the only interpretation of the passage. It may refer to the subjugation of their kingdom by the English of Northumbria, which continued from about 642 to about 685; or, as Eoin MacNeill suggests,[8] it may not have to do with events in Britain, but may allude to the decline of the mother-kingdom of Dal Riada in Ireland.

(3) In Colgan's Latin paraphrase of the Irish Life of Columcille[9] compiled by Manus O'Donnell there is a citation from Cuimine which is not found in our text. But the introduction of Cuimine's name seems to be due to Colgan: it is absent from the original Irish.[10]

(4) Miss Brüning found that in both Cuimine and Adamnan there are literary borrowings from earlier writings, such as Sulpicius Severus, Gregory the Great, and the anonymous Life of St. Anthony. She gives a series of parallel passages, where the phraseology of both Cuimine and Adamnan seems to depend on the same original, to show that Adamnan is nearer that original than Cuimine. They are not very convincing. These turns of expression, derived from the books read in the monasteries, had in many cases passed so fully into the current usage of the monastic writers that inferences may be drawn from their occurrence and their variations only when the testimony is quite clear-cut. Moreover, as Anton L. Mayer has noticed in a review of Miss Brüning's dissertation,[11] in one of her examples Cuimine is really closer to the original than Adamnan.[12]

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8 *Phases of Irish History* (Dublin: 1919) p. 200.
9 *Triadis Thaumaturgae* p. 437, quoted by Brüning.
10 Ed.: A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (Urbana, Ill.: 1918).
11 *Historisches Jahrbuch* XXXIX, Jahrgang 1918-19 (Munich 1919) 374-6.
12 This is in chap. XXV, which, as has been seen, is part of the *addenda* to Cuimine's text. The fact would suggest that perhaps not even these *addenda* were taken directly from Adamnan. It is possible that at Iona—as we know to have been the case at Armagh—a collection of written records regarding the founder was preserved and was drawn upon by successive biographers.

I believe the above remarks sufficient to show that the case against the authenticity of the text which bears Cuimine's name is by no means incontrovertible. Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that no theory has ever been advanced, and none seems, on our present information, conceivable, to explain why a mediaeval hagiographer, having before him Adamnan's work and desiring to make an abridgment thereof, should produce such a document as that attributed to Cuimine. We have one, and perhaps two, abridgments of Adamnan, and we know what form they take: their method of construction has no relationship to one which would consist in omitting all of Adamnan's first book, all except one episode of his second, and many sections of his third, and selecting for synopsis the particular chapters we find in our text.

The problem has not yet been solved. It remains, perhaps, for those scholars who, we may hope, will in future years make the volumes of the *Monumenta Hiberniae* themselves a further monument to the glory of the isle of saints.

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MISCELLANY

NEWMAN AS AN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIAN.

Newman's place in English literature is undisputed. Whether he writes in prose or poetry, his pen is potent. As an essayist or poet, a novelist or moralist, a philosopher or theologian, a psychologist or historian, he has a message which he clothes in English undefiled. He has given us matter and form seldom equalled and never excelled in the vast realm of English literature. He is the prince of English prose. "The charm of Newman's style," says Augustine Birrell, "necessarily baffles description: as well might one seek to analyze the fragrance of a flower, or to explain in words the jumping of one's heart when a beloved friend unexpectedly enters the room." But Newman's style, elegant, exquisite, ethereal, and at times as occasion demands, tactful, trenchant, truculent, is after all only an instrument which he uses to reveal his thought deep and ponderous. The aptness of his style and the directness of his message are probably nowhere more apparent than in his historical writings. They constitute almost half of his long row of volumes.

Many-sided though he was, take him all in all, Newman was essentially an ecclesiastic. When determining his place in literature, this should never be forgotten. In intellectual Oxford and commercial Birmingham his lot was cast with the Church. That destiny colored all his thought. The churchman in him is always uppermost. Frequently he speaks of his early devotion to the Fathers. "In the long vacation of 1828," he tells us, "I set about to read them chronologically, beginning with St. Ignatius and St. Justin." About 1830 came Mr. Hugh Rose's proposal for him to write a history of the principal councils. "I accepted it," he says in the *Apologia*, "and at once set to work on the Council of Nicaea. It was to launch myself on an ocean with currents innumerable." While doing this work, he confesses: "the broad philosophy of Clement and Origen carried me away; the philosophical not the theological doctrine..... Some portions of their teaching, magnificent in themselves, came like music to my inward ear, as if the response to ideas which, with little external to encourage them, I had cherished so long."

Thus was the great Oxonian launched on the *mare magnum* of historical research. He learned to consider "antiquity the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity." So carefully did he scrutinize the pages of the past that a thoughtful reading of Cardinal Wiseman's article on the *Donatists*, which appeared in the *Dublin Review* of August, 1839, was for him the *tolle lege* that pulverized his theory of the *Via Media*.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that all of Newman's works emit a historical aroma. All are shot through and through with the records of the past. The warp and woof of every fabric wrought in the loom of his genius is the development of reason which, we are told by one authority, is

"the science of history." A mere enumeration of Newman's historical works is sufficient to give him a place among our weightiest ecclesiastical writers. He himself made the melancholy acknowledgment in his *Development of Christian Doctrine* that "the chief, perhaps the only English writer who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian, is the unbelievable Gibbon." He modestly refrained from asserting that he himself was helping to fill the void by valuable contributions from an already over-worked pen. Since then the gap has been closed by our copies of Lingard and Belloc, Janssen and Pastor, Gasquet and Morris, Grisar and Denifle, Walsh and Pollen.

It was in 1833 that Newman gave us his *Arians of the Fourth Century*. Eleven years after came his *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*. Between the years 1828 and 1846 he penned his *Essays Critical and Historical*. His *Essays on the Miracles of Early Ecclesiastical History* appeared in the years 1842 and 1843 "as a preface to a translation of a portion of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*." The years lying between 1824 and 1856 gave to the world his unrivalled *Historical Sketches*. And in 1845, on the very eve of his reception into the Catholic Church he penned the closing paragraphs of his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. His *Present Position of Catholics in England* came in 1851, to be followed five years after by *Callista*. We may well close our list with his famous *Apologia pro Vita Sua* which captivated the literary world in 1864. Many of these volumes were amended in the later years of the Cardinal's life, and assumed their present form in the standard edition of his works published by Longmans, Green & Co.

Even a cursory reading of his *Plain and Parochial Sermons* reveals a deep historical knowledge on the part of their author. Writing to J. D. Dalgairns from Rome in January, 1847, Newman said, "And now after reading these sermons, I must say I think they are, as a whole, the best things I have written, and I cannot believe that they are not Catholic, and will not be useful." These sermons, it will be remembered, were delivered in St. Mary's church, Oxford, while Newman was its rector. J. A. Froude, criticizing them, says: "Newman's mind was world-wide. He was interested in everything which was going on in science, in politics, in literature. Nothing was too large for him, nothing too trivial, if it threw light upon the central question, what man really was, and what was his destiny..... Newman had read omnivorously." The wealth of his knowledge of men and events past and future he shared with a rapt audience from "the pulpit of St. Mary's with those wonderful afternoon sermons." "Sunday after Sunday," says Principal Shairp, " month by month, year by year, they went on, each continuing and deepening the impressions the last had made."

His sermon on *The Second Spring* is crammed full of ecclesiastical data and is itself a landmark in the history of the Church in England. If his *Plain and Parochial Sermons* were caviar to the general listener, not so *The Second Spring*. Every word fell on appreciative ears. It too was delivered in St. Mary's, but that of Catholic Oscott, on July 13, 1852, during the historical First Provincial Synod of the restored hierarchy in Eng-

land. This synod marked the formal restoration of legislative ceremony of the Church after the great cleavage three hundred years before. "As the mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated," says Wilfrid Ward in his *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, "with the music and liturgy of the best Oscott traditions, to ask for light in the deliberations of the first synod of the new hierarchy—the Church largely filled with the children of the Oxford movement, Manning, Oakeley, Faber, and others, the great Oxford leader himself speaking in his accents of unrivalled sweetness to the descendants of the English martyrs— all Wiseman's dreams appeared to be fulfilled. The Cardinal's tears fell fast, so Bishop Ullathorne has told us, while Newman sketched the picture of the glories of the ancient Catholic Church of England; of its death; of the second life which was beginning." Is not this ecclesiastical history in the truest sense of the term?

"The Catholic conscience of history," says Belloc, "is not a conscience which begins with the development of the Church in the basin of the Mediterranean. It goes back much farther than that. The Catholic understands the soil in which that plant of the Faith arose." This was the attitude which Newman took when writing his *Arians of the Fourth Century*. Besides deep thought, it reveals a wide range of reading and no small amount of theological knowledge. As a background, in the first part of the volume, the author gives an outline of the Church in Antioch and Alexandria; he sketches the theories of the Sophists, Eclectics, and Sabellianism. Then follow the enlightening chapters on the teaching of the ante-Nicene Church in its relation to the Arian heresy. To the Arian heresy itself Newman devotes only thirty-three pages. The second part of this volume deals with the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea. He outlines its history and its consequences. Two chapters follow which deal with the councils held during the reign of Constantius and after. The appendix, which includes a chronology of the councils and an account of the orthodoxy of the faithful during Arianism, enhances the value of the volume. This contribution of Newman's to church history cost him much labor and study. "As he wrote the last part," Ward tells us, "his exhaustion was so great that he was frequently on the point of fainting." The book will well repay careful reading just at present, when we are recalling the sixteen hundredth anniversary of the Council of Nicaea.

In his two volumes of *Essays Critical and Historical*, Newman has incorporated some of the best productions of his pen. They were written while he was Fellow of Oriel. His paragraphs on "the theology of the seven epistles of St. Ignatius" are a weighty contribution to patristic literature. To the ecclesiastical historian he points out the value of reading the Fathers and adds: "to read a particular Father to advantage, we must as a preliminary, do these two things—divest ourselves of modern ideas and prejudices, and study theology."

The matter contained in what we know as the three volumes of Newman's *Historical Sketches* began to appear as early as 1824. The second volume should be read first. There we find an intimate sketch of "the Church of the Fathers." Basil and Gregory, Anthony and Augustine,

Martin and Maximus live again under the magic touch of his facile pen. Who can ever forget the lovable Demetrias after reading his delicate delineation? In speaking of these sketches the author tells us that though mainly historical, they are in their form and character polemical, as being directed against certain Protestant ideas and opinions. He lays bare "the lingering imperfections of the saints which surely make us love them more, without leading us to reverence them less, and act as a relief to the discouragement and despondency which may come over those who, in the midst of much error and sin, are striving to imitate them;—according to the saying of St. Gregory on a graver occasion, *Plus nobis Thomae infidelitas ad fidem, quam fides credentium discipulorum profuit.*" The treatise on the Turks, which occupies more than half of the first volume of *Historical Sketches*, makes interesting reading during these post bellum days. The value of this treatise for the student is further increased by the chronological tables at the end. The matter contains the substance of a series of lectures delivered by Newman during October, 1853, in the Catholic Institute of Liverpool. He says he "has attempted only to group old facts in his own way." We know full well what that way is—instructive and entertaining.

The personal and literary character of Cicero as delineated by Newman will appeal to every earnest student and instructor of history or the classics. It is quite worthy of the pen which owed much of its gracefulness to the one who "rather made language than a style; yet not so much by the invention as by the combination of words." In a moment of confidence Newman had confessed: "The only master of style I ever had....is Cicero. I think I owe a great deal to him, and as far as I know, to no one else." Those who watched closely the recent conferences at Malines would do well to read the paragraphs on Primitive Christianity. They appeared first in the *British Magazine* between the years 1833 and 1836. "The date of their composition," says the author in a prefatory notice to the edition of 1872, "is a sufficient indication of the character of the theology which they contain. They were written under the assumption that the Anglican Church has a place as such, in Catholic communion and Apostolic Christianity." While not agreeing with Anglican theology, the Catholic reader will gain some solid information from these paragraphs. In after years Newman acknowledged "history never serves as a measure of dogmatic truth in its fulness." And again "no doctrine of the Church can be rigorously proved by historical evidence; at the same time no doctrine can be simply disproved by it."

The third volume of *Historical Sketches* is devoted entirely to universities. It is a decided contribution to the history of education. But as Newman presents the matter it is ecclesiastical history also. For a background he uses the Greek and Roman universities. He traces their development in the early Christian schools, and gradually leads the reader right up to his own beloved Oxford. Through the whole story we see the guiding hand of the Church and her influence on modern civilization. The matter contained in this volume was first published in 1856 under the title "The Of-

fice and Work of Universities." And we may well take the author's word when he tells us that neither thought nor pains were spared in its composition. Greeks and Romans, Danes and Lombards, English and Irish receive ample consideration at his hands when tracing the struggles of the race through the darkness of the pre-Christian era, during the half-gloom of the following centuries, up to the full noon day of the present epoch. When putting down this volume, the words of Belloc naturally come to mind: "The Church is Europe: and Europe is the Church."

The years 1842 and 1843 gave to the public Newman's essays on *Ecclesiastical Miracles*. They were "regarded as addressed to Christians, the rewards of faith, and the matter of devotion, varying in their character from simple providences to distinct innovations upon physical order, and coming to us by tradition or in legend, trustworthy or not, as it may happen in the particular case." Every earnest historian acknowledges folk lore, legends and tradition to be in a certain sense history. But Newman says "the Protestant cannot breathe in the element of ecclesiastical history." And so one's love and respect for the Church of Rome is increased when reading the concluding words of this essay: "If the occurrence of the miraculous depends upon the presence of the Catholic Church, and if that Church is to remain on earth until the end of the world, it follows of course that what will be vouchsafed to Christians at all times, was vouchsafed to them in the middle ages inclusively."

Newman's translation of *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius* was made between 1841 and 1844. His first rendering was literal. Subsequent attempts at a free translation were made by him "with a watchful caution lest he should be taking liberties with his author." He wished to give his volume "a usefulness of its own," he tells us, adding: "though I did not follow Athanasius' text sentence by sentence, allowing myself in abbreviation where he was diffuse, and in paraphrase where he was obscure." For Newman this tedious work was a labor of love, this delving into original sources for his patristic studies a real joy. He yields "to no one in special devotion to those centuries of the Catholic Church which the holy Fathers represent," he wrote in 1881. In 1847, "with a keen consciousness of his own intellectual power," says Ward, while he was in Rome, he set about translating into Latin four disputations from his *Athanasius*. The English edition of 1881 he let out of his hands with a feeling of disappointment. "I had hoped," he complains, "it would have been my least imperfect work; but being what it is, its publication seems to carry with it some sort of irreverence towards the great Saint in whose name and history years ago I began to write, and with whom I end. But I have done my best, bearing in mind while I write that I have no right to reckon on the future." In this volume we find Pope Alexander's encyclical excommunicating Arius, two epistles of St. Athanasius, and his three discourses against the Arians. While opening up to us the patristic era in all its fulness, these chapters reveal the human element in the Church apparent throughout the ages.

The publication in 1845 of Newman's *Essay on the Development of*

Christian Doctrine brings us to "the parting of the ways." It marks the spiritual crisis in the author's life. Before its closing paragraph was penned, Newman had taken the great step and joined the Catholic Church. The mental strain and stress under which this book was written can best be gauged by Newman's own words to Mrs. William Froude. In a letter of June, 1845, he writes: "Did I tell you that I was preparing a book of some sort to advertise people how things stood with me?.....Never has anything cost me (I think) so much hard thought and anxiety, though when I got to the end of my *Arians* thirteen years ago I had no sleep for a week, and was fainting away or something like it day after day. *Then* I went abroad and that set me up. At present I have been four months and more at my new work, and found I had vastly more materials than I knew how to employ. The difficulty was to bring them into shape, as well as to work out in my mind the main principles on which they were to run. I spent two months in reading and writing which came to nothing, at least for my present purpose. I really have no hope it will be finished before the autumn—if then. I have not written a sentence, I suppose, which will stand, or hardly so. Perhaps one gets over sensitive even about style as one gets on in life. My utmost ambition, in point of recreation, is to lay aside the actual writing for three weeks or so in the course of the time, and take to reading and hunting about. Our time is so divided here that I have not above six or seven hours a day at it and it is so exhausting, I doubt whether I could give more. I am now writing it for the first time, and have done three chapters, out of four or five. Besides re-writing, every part has to be worked out and defined as in moulding a statue. I get on as a person walks with a lame ankle, who does get on and gets to his journey's end—but not comfortably."

This book is not easy reading. Its philosophy is vastly deeper than the theology which it was meant to disprove. Newman's aim was to show the truth of the Church's claim to be *semper eadem* in spite of the shifting sands of time. For this it was necessary to delve down into the records of the remote past. On his own confession, the work, though a painful labor, was a keen intellectual pleasure to the man who for so many years had lived in thought in the Church of the Fathers. In that Church he had found "a paradise of delight." Speaking of this famous essay Ward says: "He seems in its pages to see the Catholic Church of history as one great *aula* in which the Fathers are collected at one end and Pope Gregory XVI stands at the other." To bring out his thought, Newman traces the parallelism between the Church of the nineteenth century and the Church of the Apostolic period, the fifth and sixth centuries and the Nicene period. To substantiate his statements, he marshalls a bewildering mass of historical facts hitherto either unknown or unnoticed by many seekers after religious truth. At the suggestion of Cardinal Wiseman the volume was given to the public as Newman originally wrote it. "If at times the tone appears positive or peremptory, he hopes this will be imputed to the scientific character of the work, which required a distinct statement of principles, and of the arguments which recommend them." This statement of

the author places the volume in the class of philosophical history, the very cream of historic lore.

In striking contrast to this calm reasoning is the brilliant bantering and biting sarcasm of Newman's *Present Position of Catholics in England.* The volume is made up of nine lectures delivered in the Corn Exchange at Birmingham in 1851. Beginning on Monday, June 30th, he mounted the rostrum and poured forth such a volley of satire that all England held its breath. These lectures were presumably for the members of the Oratorium Parvum, an organization of lay Catholics. During their delivery Newman was seated at a raised desk. Over his chair hung a picture of St. Philip Neri. The peals of laughter of the audience could be heard for blocks away. They saw the Oxford leader in a new guise. Restraint he now discarded. Spontaneity took its place. His aim was to refute the fallacies of religious prejudice. "He revelled in the strength of his case; and though never off his guard, and never forgetting the reservations in his attack which truth required, he let himself go in occasional passages with complete unreserve and great effect." As the book stands to-day in Newman's *opera omnia* it is about the best bit of logic we have in the language. But it is more besides. It is history, sacred and profane. History was the weapon he wielded to achieve an unprecedented dialectical and oratorical victory. Syllogistic figures are concealed in rhetorical rhapsodies. Witty conclusions emphasize faulty reasoning. Historical facts serve to dispel present prejudices. His lesson was apparent: "Oblige men to know you; persuade them, importune them, shame them into knowing you. Make it so clear what you are, that they cannot affect not to see you, nor refuse to justify you. Do not even let them off with silence, but give them no escape from confessing that you are not what they thought you were."

Callista, Newman's first and only historical novel, is a tale of the third century. "It is simply fiction from beginning to end," he tells us. "It has little in it of actual history, and not much claim to antiquarian research; yet it has required more reading than may appear at first sight. It is an attempt to imagine and express, from a Catholic point of view, the feelings and mutual relations of Christians and heathens at the period to which it belongs." In his criticism of Newman as a man of letters, Canon Barry says: "In *Callista* the heroine herself, though no more than a pastel, if you will be exacting, has delightful traits; Jucundus, the Epicurean, lives and moralizes; and Juba, the demoniac, if preterhuman, is real. But we may treat these figures as designedly symbolic, and they have their charm. Had he taken up the art, Newman could have won distinction as a novelist." The comparatively unknown African Church is revealed in Juba and Jucundus, in Goths and Christians, in such wise that the reader acquires valuable historical facts and gains new impressions of that Church which though ever triumphant is ever militant.

In Newman's immortal *Apologia pro Vita Sua* we have an epic of the soul. It is a psychological study of intense interest for behaviorists and introspectionists alike. The story of its genesis in 1864 is too well known to be repeated here. Its literary merits are beyond dispute. How, begin-

ning on April 21, its several parts were read week by week, with keen interest, by drivers of cabs and members of Parliament alike we need not say. The value for us of this world classic lies in its historic character. If, as some one has said, "history is a narrative told of ourselves, the record of a life which is our own, of efforts not yet abandoned to repose, of problems that still entangle the feet and vex the hearts of men," then the *Apologia* is one of our greatest contributions to church history. In this subtle piece of self-analysis, Newman lays here the inner life of the Church of England. One by one he introduces us to the leading personages of the Anglican communion. He leads them out on the stage of history that we may see their policies and their politics. He outlines a historical background for the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850. The consequences of Tract 90 can be seen in the cries of "Papal Aggression." And after reading the *Apologia* the burning words of the famous pastoral "From out the Flaminian Gate" become pregnant with meaning.

Now that church history is assuming its proper place in the curriculum of our high schools and colleges, it is well for Catholic students and instructors alike to bear in mind the treasures hidden in the works of Cardinal Newman. His name is our proud boast among ecclesiastical historians. But only an assiduous reading of his volumes will prevent that boast from being vain.

J. F. LEIBELL, Ph.D.,
Georgetown, D. C.

OXONIANA.

Falconer Madan, M.A., formerly Bodley's librarian, has a charming little volume which enables the visitor to learn more of Oxford than comes within the scope of a Guide Book. It bears the title: *Oxford Outside the Guide-Books*. It enables one to glimpse vistas and gather data that are of great value; at least the writer has found it eminently useful. American students are now visiting the ancient seat of learning in increasing numbers and it is worth while to note their impressions. These will add materially to the value of Falconer Madan's book. Following are sketches from the pens of a group of Trinity College students that are of an unusual type, and we are indebted to members of the group (some of them former students with the writer) for permission to give them wider publicity than is possible in the pages of their regular college publication, *The Trinity Record*.

Outside of Term-Time.

The advantages of even a short visit to Oxford, at any time of the year, seem to me to be so obvious that they preclude enumeration. Since we are assured then, that it is worth while going to Oxford at all, I am about to tell you, contrary to the guidebooks, that vacation time has many advantages for the visitor. First of all, one can get into the lodging-houses then. In term-time, of course, it is much more difficult for an outsider to do so. But the superiority of a vacation visit consists chiefly in this, that comparatively few of the present body of the University are in residence at the time, and one has a much better opportunity to examine the Oxford of the past. For me, if I were to arrive during term, the distractions offered by the activities of the students, their customary practices or spontaneous inventions, or by the numberless affairs of college life and administration, would prevent the unmolested wanderings, loiterings, and excursions, which are the delight of a lover of Oxford. There may be, and doubtless are some. to whom the present-day functioning of the college is the chief point of interest when visiting it, but I think, to most people, the charm of Oxford is contained in its past—in the associations and personalities which are recalled at every step.

Thus, in vacation, one can stand on Magdalen Bridge, and looking down the Cherwell and Christ Church Walks, one can repeople these quiet visits with the figures of one's favorite Oxford poets, writers, or churchmen. One may do this as well, you say, in term-time. Perhaps, but I do not think it so easy to recall the walks of Shelley and Hogg while listening to the somewhat defective undergraduate phonograph, playing from the undergraduate punt alongside the bridge. Or, walking on down the "High" one can enter the beautiful doors of St. Mary the Virgin, and reconstruct within its walls, the scenes of other days. When it is quiet and almost empty, one can imagine here a congregation of eager, attentive young men; an atmos-

phere of inquiry and interest; and a speaker of the delicate, ascetic appearance of John Henry Newman, carrying his hearers away by the easy flow of his words. But again, one cannot indulge so freely in these flights of fancy if students in the preposterous "Oxford bags" of our day, are claiming our eyes and ears both within and without the church.

No, I am sure it would be too distracting to see a don bicycling to his lodgings; to see a "dona" purchasing hairpins; to see a crowd of students in their hired and decrepit Morris-Cowley being towed back after a too strenuous drive. Under these circumstances, if and when such events were occurring (and I suppose they are not altogether unlikely) I should never be able to keep my thoughts on the subject of the unusual architecture of Queen's College, or the inimitable sky-line of High Street. To do so would require greater powers of concentration than I possess. I think the absent-minded Professor might qualify, perhaps, for such a feat, but surely a curious visitor would not.

EILEEN F. COOKE. '26.

OXFORD SPORTS.

"I count naught but sunny hours."

Taken literally or figuratively, the sunniest hours at Oxford are those given to sports. There is a whole-hearted interest in them that gains a childish sort of pleasure from the most simple pastimes.

Most widespread and at the same time most characteristic of the town is the art of bicycling. Even as there is no speed limit, there is no age limit, we conclude. The merest of mere children pedals valiantly along beside his Paisley-shawled grandmother and they evince no surprise if they come wheel to wheel to Father in cap and gown. Nor is a bicycle such a sportive vehicle that it cannot be put to utilitarian end. One's bread comes by bicycle, one's trunks leave by it,—due to an admirable little cart the delivery boy pushes ahead of him. As for a correct bicycling costume, there is none. If you are a gentleman and dinner bent, a tuxedo will do nicely. At any rate procure a blazer and pedal for pleasure over an old Roman road to a nearby tea house,—which may or may not have a thatched roof.

Very English is the aquatic sport of punting. For those who have not read Jerome's *Three Men In A Boat* let me recommend it and say that a punt is a very long, very narrow, flat-bottomed boat with a corrugated platform on either end. He who punts stands on the rear platform and by means of a long pole sends the craft with surprising velocity down the long poplar-lined avenue of the Cherwell. There is room in the punt for a small Victrola, and, of course, the inevitable tea basket. In case of showers, one adjusts an awning over the boat, or slides under one of many arched bridges.

While we are on the river, let us continue to "Long Bridges" just below the junction of the Cherwell on the Thames. Here we may swim, but note

that "mixed bathing" is frowned upon. So we disport ourselves in the portion of the Thames screened off for women and discover that the English interpretation of the one-piece suit is more literal than the American.

Few audiences are more enthusiastic than that of the Oxford cinema. The pie-throwing act of the slap-stick comedy has long since failed to arouse the American child, but the English adult howls with glee, applauds vigorously, and becomes so generally uncontrolled that it is with difficulty he achieves an accurate aim with the ashes of his cigarette.

There are excellent motor roads for the disgracefully rich who can brave an outrageous annual tax for the possession of a machine. Nor is the left-handed traffic heavy, due to said tax. But why own a motor when a sturdy motor-cycle well equipped will accommodate the average family of five? Then, too, an astonishing rate of speed may be attained on a bicycle built for two if one's life partner is athletically inclined. At any rate the English family betakes itself to the open spaces for each and every occasion, whether the reason be a cricket game, la crosse, or a matter of preserving that English complexion, not confined there to school girls.

To be a success in Oxford, socially and sportively, one must only know China tea from the Ceylon variety, wear stout brogues, and work oneself into a state of mind that completely ignores the weather.

DOROTHEA SULLIVAN, '26.

OXFORD CUSTOMS.

With our guide books held firmly in our hands, we set out on a daily tour of inspection of Oxford Colleges. We had put a large x opposite the name of Corpus Christi College so we determinedly wended our way through the narrow streets and lanes till we arrived at our destination. I shall not say that we "entered by the tower gateway with a fine vaulted roof" because to do so is to quote the guide book. Let it be sufficient to say that we walked through a doorway like the entrance to a medieval castle. It was a large heavy oak gate with a man-sized doorway cut into it, by which we entered. Here we found ourselves in a short dim passageway that led to a beautiful grassy quadrangle surrounded by old ivy-grown buildings that had weathered the storms of four hundred years.

Our attention was distracted from this lovely view by a voice at our elbows. Looking down we perceived a very polite little man who asked if we would like to see the college. He informed us that during term-time he was a "scout" for the boys, and performed the general duties of a valet, pressing their clothes, cleaning their boots, and keeping the fires in their rooms burning. As we accepted his offer of guidance, he led us all through the college and proved a very treasure in relating the curious customs and rules that regulate the lives of the Oxford men.

He took us into the dining hall, an old timber-roofed building, with the walls lined with portraits. Here he said the boys had but one meal a day, the main dinner. For all the others which were breakfast, luncheon, and tea, they ordered what pleased their fancy from the kitchen and had it

served in their rooms. What a beautiful idea! we thought. But they also had an irritating custom here. Every man had to be present at roll-call in the Hall every morning at eight. So they usually arose, donned cap and gown, answered roll-call, bowed to the dean, and returned to their interrupted slumbers.

Our cicerone told us that there were only about fifty-six men living in the college as some lived in licensed lodgings. But he explained that this was not so free a life as it looked because the landlords had to report to the college authorities how many nights a week their lodgers remained out after nine o'clock. They were permitted out until twelve as were the men living in the college buildings, but as the gates were closed at nine, they had to pay a shilling to have them opened. Thus the faculty saw that they studied enough unless, as our guide explained, "the young gentlemen in lodgings were fortunate enough to have rooms on the ground floor."

We now asked the little man a question that had been exciting our curiosity a week past and that was "why every night at five of nine some old clock boomed for about a quarter of an hour." At last we had our answer. It was the clock in the Tom Tower at Christ Church announcing the closing of the gates and it tolled one hundred and one times because the college originally had that number of members.

Another quaint old custom, in practice for over four hundred years, is the May Day celebration at Magdalen College. This is a big event and visitors come down from London and stay up all night so that they will miss none of it. At dawn the choir mounts to the summit of Magdalen Tower and greets the rising sun with a hymn to the Trinity. This is but one of the medieval traditions that still cling to Oxford and remind the visitors of the days when the old buildings were occupied by the monks.

DOROTHY CALLAGHAN, '26.

OXFORD GARDENS.

Oxford gardens are rather like surprise packages; you have to spend so much time getting at them that the charm is all the greater when you finally reach your goal. The old town of Oxford is so cosily compact and the colleges so close together that it is rather hard to believe the tales of spacious grounds within their walls. The friend who is leaving Oxford the day you arrive says that you simply must not miss St. John's—it is beautiful. You are quite willing to follow her advice—one college is as good as another to start with—but you have some misgivings when the time comes.

In the first place, there is difficulty finding out just which college is St. John's; you walk briskly down the road, only to discover that one of the numerous doors you passed was the entrance to the college you were seeking. You retrace your steps more carefully and finally pass through a negligible opening in the wall into a small quadrangle, and from there into another. After you have examined the buildings (open to visitors) that surround these, you come at last to the gardens. It is like a piece of candy

after medicine, or like the frosting on a cake. Here is a wide, smooth, vividly green stretch of lawn, like a mammoth stage, with a drop of ancient trees as the background. In one corner is a small exquisite rockery, the individual creation of an eminent man, and now a living monument to his memory; here and there are single trees and clumps of bushes, with benches conveniently placed. These are only stage properties, and you feel instinctively that they are an integral part of the scene. This lovely garden was made to be enjoyed personally and individually by the students; there are no forbidding signs to "Keep off the grass!' And the whole atmosphere of the place is one of natural peace and pleasure.

Walking through Queen's Lane, you come to the entrance of New College, almost hidden by the turn of the wall. New College, belying its name, is one of the oldest in Oxford; it was founded in 1379 and most of the buildings erected then are still in use. The general air of antiquity extends even to the gardens, which are surrounded on the north and east by the only remaining portion of the city wall. It is a fascinating piece of masonry, with steps leading up to its wide top, but alas! they are not for use. In the center of the broad lawns, that centuries of care must have made an indestructible emerald floor, there is a high mound so covered with trees and shrubs that the earth is not visible at all; the effect of this contrast is surprisingly like that of a brilliant corsage on a plain gown.

The gardens of Magdalen College, on the other hand, remind you of a piece of bright tapestry or petit-point; there are flower-borders flaunting all colors of the rainbow, and huge tubs of hydrangeas stand in orderly rows up and down the paths. Beyond this gay stretch on the other side of the tiny Cherwell, is the deer-park and what are prosaically called the "Water Walks." You must cross the ancient bridge (upstream there is a very quaint old mill), take a few steps to the left, and suddenly you come upon the fairy avenue that is known as "Addison's Walk." The trees on either side meet and form a verdant arch above the straight path that leads away into the distance. It is no wonder that the lover of the beautiful in literature should come here to seek the beautiful in nature; Rosalind and Orlando must have met here centuries ago, as their successors do to-day. It is a magic spot, which symbolizes the charm of all Oxford gardens and of Oxford itself, where beauty, knowledge and tradition pursue their way together.

GERTRUDE REIMAN, '26.

OXFORD TYPES.

If the girl who goes to college in the United States thinks that she comes in contact with a medley of types, let her go to Oxford and note the contrasts. The types of people at Oxford were many and varied, but they all seemed to have one common characteristic; they were all drawn towards the old English town by a love of learning. It was inspiring to sit in class with people who were there through sheer love of the higher things of life, and not because they were sent, and an alternative course would necessitate

less of marks. To see the way they drank in the speaker's words, thrilled me; they sat spell-bound, oblivious of everyone about them. To look even a bit uninterested was a breach of etiquette!

People from all parts of the world assembled at Oxford this summer to brush up on the drama, as exemplified in the several countries represented. For the most part, their dress was native, making it a not difficult matter for us to guess their nationality. The full-bosomed, flaxen-haired German girls presented a striking contrast to the slender, dark-haired Japanese. In dress the Japanese seem to have acquired an anglicizing spirit, whereas the Germans (seem to) have clung to an older style of dressing. The latter showed a stern determination to master the course at hand. They never forgot their note-books, which fact seems to bear out my observation that the Teutons are a thorough people. The Japanese representatives presented a different angle; they appeared delighted to hear what the lecturer's views were, and when these views failed to satisfy them, they exchanged polite, but supercilious nods, which almost said, "We will pardon his mistaken view, this poor fellow means well." Their mien was one of shrewd tolerance.

There were only a few people from India following the course, but they were all the more noticeable because of their costume, or rather the addition to their dress in the form of an enveloping shawl-scarf. This scarf always covered the head, and took the place of a hat, when the wearer ventured out.

The range of ages that one encountered at the lectures was a remarkable feature, and afforded excellent material for a study in types. The listeners varied in age from twenty to ninety, with the forty to sixty group in the majority. In this class were included the venerable dons, with their sedate wives, indigent college professors, school teachers off on an intellectual spree, and prim maiden ladies—one could hardly call them bachelor girls—intent upon making the most of the long vacation. The male element offered little opportunity for a study in types, as viewed from the angle of dress, because masculine attire varies so slightly from year to year, and no one seemed to differ radically from the norm. Many persons whom I noticed might have stepped out of old-fashioned books, and been dressed by the authors in garments especially suited (at the time the books were written) to their peculiar types of beauty. And so delighted were these characters with the result that they have absolutely refused to discard these creations.

It is possible that you too have been under the impression that Englishwomen pay little attention to the edicts of fashion. But did you ever stop to consider that perhaps the climate had something to do with this state of affairs. Showers of rain come at the most unexpected hours, and are of such intermittent duration, that it ill behooves our English sisters to venture out in anything of a perishable nature. Consequently, their street clothes are chosen more with a view to weathering the rain, than to following the trend of the modes. In the evening, it is said they are more punctilious about their dress, than are the very critical Americans.

Just as in our summer schools you will find a few outlandish characters, so at Oxford the inevitable types of an earlier period in dress appeared. One person in particular remains in my memory; she was a delightfully lithe creature, despite her advancing years. Evidently the matter of fashion meant nothing to her; the world learning was her playground. The turned-back, standing collar and leg-of-mutton sleeves of her meticulously starched shirtwaist were the cynosure of all eyes as she made her way to the front row. A gray skirt with a front fan plait seemed to complete her costume. Her only ornament was a gold watch of intricate design, which she wore pinned to her waist. One day I chanced to overhear her conversation with the woman sitting next to me. It was one of the most interesting and enlightening talks I have ever heard. It gave me a peep into the mind of a truly intellectual woman. She could well afford to appear daily in such out-of-date garments, for her mind was in the vanguard of learning.

Aside from the actual benefit derived from attending these lectures, an observation of the various types represented constitutes a study in itself. In concluding this essay might I suggest a visit to Oxford during the summer meeting as one of the most fruitful fields for a consideration of the types of human beings, as well as one of the surest means of adding to one's store of information.

RUTH EILENE LYNCH, '26.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

There is a wealth of material for a history of the foundation of Trinity College. Those who were at the head of affairs at the time of its inception had the "historical sense." and consequently every detail of movement and correspondence was carefully preserved in substantial books which are now a priceless treasure of the College.

The idea of Trinity College evolved gradually from a desire to have an academy for girls outside the city of Washington which might be used in the summer as a country residence for the Sisters of Notre Dame Convent, North Capitol Stret. The first proposal of it was made in 1897 by Sister Mary Euphrasia, the Superior of that convent, to the Provincial Superior, Sister Julia. The latter had already considered the advantage of a school in that locality, but her plans were larger as she had conceived the idea of a college. She is the true foundress of Trinity College and as such deserves here an introduction to a generation of readers who have not had the privilege of knowing her.

Susan McGroarty was born in Donegal, Ireland, February 13, 1827, and was brought by her parents in infancy to Cincinnati, Ohio, where her mother's brother, Dr. Stephen Bonner, had won the esteem of the whole city in his medical practice. In due time the child was sent to school, first to the Sisters of Charity and later to "the French Ladies," as the newly-arrived community of Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur was called. At the age of nineteen she entered the postulate, and was the first to be clothed as a novice by Sister-Superior Louise. Her first years of teaching were spent in Cincinnati, then she was sent to the new boarding-school opened in 1854 at Roxbury, Massachusetts, and six years later, at the age of twenty-nine, she was appointed superior of the house of Philadelphia, in which house and office she remained for a full quarter of a century. In 1885 she was transferred to Sixth Street, Cincinnati, to be assistant to Sister Superior Louise, and upon her death in the following year, she succeeded her as Provincial. When in her turn the Master of the Vineyard called her to give an account of her fifteen years of stewardship, there were over thirteen hundred professed Sisters, and the twenty-three thousand pupils of 1886 had quadrupled. Fifteen new foundations had been made in Ohio, Illinois, California, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

This mere outline of the achievement of fifteen years shows uncommon mental and spiritual gifts and an administrative power of a very high order. Sister Superior Julia had all that and more. Hers was a heart of gold, to love her Sisters in religion and the children entrusted to their care as a tender mother; to love all God's creatures as His image and likeness and the work of His hands; to love all true and beautiful things, whether of nature or art, literature, or liturgy. Hers was a soul to strive ever more generously and intelligently and to lead others to strive toward perfection in life and labor; to allow for human frailty and yet lift indulgence above weakness; to go on and on, nor ever rest satisfied while more could be done for Christ and His Church. Her soldier-spirit was akin to that of

her three brothers who fought with honor and distinction in the Union cause; for to her an obstacle was only something to be overcome, a difficulty only a means to prove her earnestness in God's service. Her mind had the grasp of details as well as the vision of completed work. This was shown as clearly in the management of the schools as in her plans for buildings. She it was who drew up a schedule of studies and gave every teacher a printed copy, that by fidelity in following the same curricula Notre Dame schools might attain uniformity and proficiency. For this purpose she also created the office of supervisor of schools and instituted semi-annual examinations, all papers being sent to the Provincial House to be rated. Sister Julia had been the first American Sister to have the privilege of a trip to Belgium and England, to see all our largest houses in both countries. A volume of her interesting letters of the year (1868) remains with us and may profitably be read for pointers in the art of teaching. It proves also that her ideals of that difficult art were lifelong and their realization unceasingly striven for.

Now we may go back to her crowning achievement, the foundation of Trinity College.

In March, 1897, Sister-Superior Julia visited Washington and while there examined some possible sites for a school in the vicinity of Brookland and the Catholic University. Before taking any definite action she counselled Sister Mary Euphrasia to write to Cardinal Gibbons to ask whether a second foundation of Notre Dame in Washington, and one of academic rank, would receive his sanction. Cardinal Gibbons replied that he had no objection to such an establishment but that it would be well to consult the heads of the Catholic University before deciding on a location. The Rector of the Catholic University at that time was the Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. Conaty. D.D., later Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles, and the vice-rector, Very Rev. P. J. Garrigan, D.D., later Bishop Garrigan of Sioux City, Iowa. These two great champions of higher education for Catholics entered into the project with such zest and wisdom as wholly to change and exalt the nature of the enterprise. They pointed out so clearly that none could help seeing that what was needed was not an academy but a college for women, and this not for Washington alone but for the whole United States, from which it should draw its patronage, and that such an institution could not be wholly for day-students. As both were well acquainted with the work of our Sisters elsewhere, they expressed the conviction that Notre Dame could succeed in the great undertaking if any religious order could. As showing the actual need of a Catholic College for women, and therefore the assurance of success in providing one, they said that the Catholic University had refused of late more than twenty applications from young women to follow their courses, and that all these had gone to non-Catholic Colleges. The views of these experienced educators being communicated to Cardinal Gibbons, and a prospective plan made out of the aim of the new college, conditions for admission thereto, intended date of opening, and means of support, His Eminence laid the matter before his council on April 5, 1897. With the thoughtful kindness that

always characterized him he wrote on the very evening of that day to the Superior of North Capitol Street:

Dear Sister Euphrasia,

At a meeting of the consultors which was held at my residence this morning, the question of the proposed building of a post-graduate institution for women in the vicinity of the Catholic University was carefully considered. All present recognized the necessity of such an institution, and warmly approved the proposed undertaking.

As for myself, I am persuaded that such an institution, working in union with, though entirely independent of, the Catholic University will do incalculable good in the cause of higher education, and I am happy to give the project my hearty approval.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

J. CARDINAL GIBBONS.

In the meantime, approbation dear and essential to Sisters of Notre Dame had been received in the following cable message, dated Namur, April 7, from the Reverend Mother Aimée de Jesus to Sister-Superior Julia:

"Approve, hoping you can find means and subjects."

Aimée.

This was sent in answer to a letter from Sister-Superior Julia detailing the plan of the proposed foundation and the suggestions made by the heads of the Catholic University concerning it. This cablegram had been communicated to the house at Washington by Sister-Superior Julia, who, at the very beginning of her visitation of the Massachusetts houses had been stricken with a serious illness at Holyoke, ordered perfect rest and silence, and who lay thus for weeks with no power to do anything but think and pray. She had sent her two most trusted aids to Washington to assist in choosing a suitable location for the new college, and to them and to the Superiors she wrote, as best she could, her own condition and her reflections on the proposed foundation. The gist of her letter was:

"Had I known the probable outcome of it I would never have taken the initial step; as it is, I would not hesitate to go on if I could see our way to make it a success... For the sake of the work of Catholic Colleges for women we must not fail or it will put it back twenty years, or even kill it."

The first business to be done was to secure an eligible site, for it was plain that land must be bought and announcement of the college publicly made before any successful step could be taken toward obtaining pecuniary help from friends of higher education. Three estates in the vicinity of the Catholic University were in the market, and after careful consideration and advice from experienced friends, Sister-Superior Julia purchased the one consisting of twenty acres of land at the junction of Lincoln and Michigan Avenues, and, a few months later, thirteen acres additional. The very

rolling ground did not seem the best for building purposes, but the site had many advantages, especially in its proximity to the Catholic University and to the park of six hundred acres belonging to the Soldiers' Home. Every year since then has added to the beauty and value of the property. The misunderstanding of some good friend engaged in the purchase of this land gave the news to the papers of New York and Washington long before it was intended to make it public. Sister-Superior Julia was chagrined, but there was nothing else to do but accept the situation and, by an authorized announcement, correct the misstatements that crept into the papers copying the news as first exploited. Mr. Edwin F. Durang, Sister-Superior Julia's architect for thirty years, was engaged to draw up the plan of the new building, and while he was doing that Sister Superior herself was busy with the more vital concern of the moral and intellectual work of the college and the Sisters she must choose and have ready to take it up.

Simultaneously with the announcements sent to the Associated Press, copies of Cardinal Gibbons' letter of approbation and of the requirements for admission to the freshman class of the college were sent to influential persons all over the country. Later an appeal was made to all former pupils of Notre Dame to assist in the great work by contributions according to their means. A sum of thirty thousand dollars was thus realized, which, with larger donations from a few wealthy friends, gave something to begin on.

Apart from the difficulties inherent in so far-reaching an undertaking, all was not smooth sailing, as might have been expected; for if the work was to be of God it must bear the seal of the cross. Disadvantageous reports began to be circulated, chiefly in regard to the proximity of the proposed college to the Catholic University and of the intention to have lectures delivered in both places by the same professors. The half-a-mile that separates the land of Trinity from that of the University shrank by report to "at the gate of the University"; the lectures by the Reverend Professors grew to "co-education." Because of this gossip, Monsignor Martinelli, then Papal Delegate at Washington, wrote to Cardinal Gibbons that it would be well to have the formal approbation of the Holy Father before commencing a building. Cardinal Gibbons at once ordered a stay of all proceedings until the whole affair could be properly presented at Rome. When all this had been reported to Sister-Superior Julia in Cincinnati, she wrote to Sister Mary Euphrasia under date of September 2, 1897:

"I am quite amused at the noise the quiet old S. N .D.'s are making for the first time in this country..... 'If God be for us, who shall be against us?' I am not in the least troubled. We did not desire nor seek the work; it came to us from Higher Authority, and provided we get the money I do not fear. I would much rather have the storm before we begin, than a breeze later which might insure a feeling of distrust and thus injure the work. Anyone can see we are only the figure-head. There are many wise and funny things I could write, but I have not the time."

Letters explaining clearly the scope of the college were sent to Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State, and to Cardinal Ferrata, our own Cardinal Protector, and in due time their cordial answers, with their letters to Cardinal Gibbons and Monsignor Martinelli settled all doubts as to the Holy Father's approval and gave renewed courage to Sister Superior Julia and her co-laborers. The letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State ran as follows:

Reverend Mother,

The matters set forth by you in your esteemed letter of September 9. which was received lately, have been communicated to me by the Holy Father. I am sure that when you receive this you will have already learned of the instructions given to Monsignor the Apostolic Delegate regarding the object in which you desired to interest me. It only remains for me to convey the apostolic benediction which His Holiness has imparted with all his heart to you and to the religious subject to you.

With sentiments of profound esteem, I remain, Reverend Mother,

Yours most affectionately in Our Lord,

M. CARDINAL RAMPOLLA.

Rome, October 2, 1897.

Monsignor Martinelli and Cardinal Gibbons hastened to let Sister-Superior Julia know that they had had official word from Rome that the explanations of the work of Trinity College were satisfactory, and that she could quietly proceed with her undertaking. The Right Reverend Rector of the Catholic University wrote her: "Do not exult too loud, but proceed joyfully in secret, grateful that the difficulty has been overcome."

This, indeed, was only one difficulty, but it was more apparent to outside friends than the more serious matter of ways and means. They urged that, the project being now well advertised, work be begun at once and prosecuted with vigor, so that the college might be opened in the September of 1898. But Sister-Superior Julia was too experienced to let herself be hurried. She had said from the beginning that she could not be ready for classes before the September of 1900, and circumstances showed she had rightly estimated the time needed for preliminary labors. In this wise delay she was also following the counsel of Mother-General Aimée de Jesus, who had not been without alarm at the mere thought of a misunderstanding at Rome. The months went by, gathering funds and gaining friends for the college. It were a long story, and unnecessary to repeat, to detail the labor this involved for the devoted Superior of North Capitol Street and the members of her community. She was on the spot, and although Sister-Superior Julia or her representatives often visited Washington, to Sister Mary Euphrasia was entrusted the handling of business as it arose; nor is it too much to say that without her faith and zeal, her high courage and undaunted perseverance, her genius for details, her unselfish toil, her tact and courtesy. her uprightness in dealing with Superiors, and her unalterable trust in God, Trinity College would never have arisen. She could

not have done it without a Provincial like Sister-Superior Julia, but neither could even so large-hearted and broadminded a superior have done it, under the circumstances, if she had not had a subject combining all the qualities enumerated.

A long step forward was taken when on March 31, 1898, there was organized at the Convent of Notre Dame, Washington, the "Auxiliary Board of Regents of Trinity College," a body of ladies who proposed to collect the funds for building and equipping the new institution. There were present at the first meeeting:

Mrs. Alice Winthrop, President
Miss Marie Patterson, Vice-President
Miss Sarah Carr Upton, Recording Secretary
Sister Mary Euphrasia, Treasurer
Mrs. Maurice Francis Egan, Corresponding Secretary

Regents:

Mrs. R. P. Bland, Missouri
Mrs. W. B. Robinson, Connecticut
Mrs. Thomas Carter, Montana
Miss Mollie Elliott Sewell, Virginia
Miss Dangerfield, Virginia
Miss E. L. Dorsey, Maryland
Miss E. Mason, Virginia
Miss E. Sherman, Ohio
Mrs. Z. B. Vance, Kentucky
Miss C. Roach, North Dakota
Miss Olive Risley Seward, New York

An address was made by Very Reverend Doctor P. J. Garrigan in which he said it gave him great pleasure to offer his services to the ladies. He had not much experience in organizing, but he knew a great deal about building, and in any case he would be only too happy to help all he could in this magnificent work which had for its object the education of Catholic girls who desired to take a higher course than could be obtained at any of the academies. He reminded them that Our Lord converted the world with twelve poor men and asked what could not be accomplished if all the members of the Board worked with energy and good will. It would be necessary to work and to work hard, not to be content to wait for results of themselves, but each must take her part and push the work along vigorously. Dr. Garrigan particularly recommended frequent meetings as a means of keeping up interest in the work, and he ended by again assuring the ladies of the interest he felt in the success of Trinity College and his willingness to help in any way he could.

Death has taken from us many of these kind friends, but the others remain to this day true to the pledges of support then given; and the importance of the services of Mrs. Carter and Miss Dorsey, in particular, it would be impossible to over-estimate. In those early days they went from city to city in the United States meeting assemblies of Catholic ladies and acquainting them with the cause. A similar service, and to larger gatherings, was done by the heads of the Catholic University and some of the Reverend Professors in their summer lecture tours and orations at com-

mencement exercises. Apart from this work, affairs of the college came to a standstill, for the country was soon absorbed in the interest of the war in Cuba and the taking of Manila, and Sister-Superior Julia was called to Namur to participate in the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Profession of the Mother-General, it being her own Jubilee Year also. She welcomed the opportunity thus afforded her of talking over all her plans and intentions for Trinity College with her Superior-General before any irrevocable step had been taken. Each house in the Institute had its day to celebrate the Golden Jubilee, and the community of Washington kept a joyful feast on the grounds of the new college, going out there on a lovely autumn day which was as warm as summer and wandering at will from dark green shades of pine,cedar, and hemlock, to bright-hued groves of oak, chestnut, and mountain-ash.

The first news from Sister-Superior Julia after her return from Namur was not encouraging for Trinity. In the circular letter which told of her return, there was no word of the great project except that the building would be begun when resources would warrant no risks; and as the money was not forthcoming, no idea of commencing would be entertained at present. The delay was in the designs of God, for it gave time to prosecute the business with Congress of getting an appropriation for the long-proposed extension of Michigan Avenue. When the fifteen thousand dollars voted by Congress had been expended, there was a broad handsome avenue from the door of the Capitol to the gate of the Catholic University and on to the village of Brookland, passing by the whole length of the new college campus; from which indeed Sister Superior gave a considerable strip. On the road the electric traction company immediately laid its tracks and began a regular car service. Along this new road all the teaming of stone for the college building was much more conveniently and cheaply done than otherwise could have been.

In January, 1899, the Right Reverend John L. Spalding, D.D., Bishop of Peoria, Illinois, was to deliver two lectures in Washington for the benefit of the Catholic University; and as he was America's foremost sacred orator, the ladies of the Auxiliary Board of Regents invited him to give a third lecture for the cause of Trinity. The Bishop's engagements did not allow of this, but he offered to give one of the two for Trinity if the Rector of the University would consent. Monsignor Conaty not only was so generous as to consent, but he and Dr. Garrigan even did everything in their power to make this second lecture the greater success. It was delivered at the Columbian University, Washington, at half-past four in the afternoon of January 16, 1899, before the most distinguished audience the Capital could show and so large as to tax the hall to its utmost. The effect of Bishop Spalding's lecture was momentous. Intense enthusiasm for higher education and for Trinity College was aroused by it and hope was kindled anew for the realization of the project, which, just then even to its staunchest friends seemed doomed to oblivion. The lecture, entitled "Woman and the Higher Education," was a classic, and as such may be found in the volume of Bishop Spalding's essays entitled *Opportunity and*

Other Essays. It was also printed in pamphlet form at the time, and thousands of copies were sold. On April 27, 1899. through the efforts of the Auxiliary Board of Regents, an enthusiastic meeting was held in New York at the home of Mrs. Thomas Wren Ward, at which His Grace Archbishop Corrigan presided, accompanied by his coadjutor, Monsignor Farley, later Cardinal-Archbishop of New York. Both these prelates spoke in high favor of Trinity College and demonstrated the urgent need of such an institution for the country at large. The audience, consisting of invited guests only, influential ladies and gentlemen of Catholic circles in New York and Brooklyn, was roused to enthusiastic interest. The most remarkable result of it was the offer of a wealthy lady to give $55,000 to build a chapel for the college, provided that it could be used as a place of sepulture for her dead, of whom it was to be a memorial. This was agreed to and a contract signed, but when it came to drawing up the plans it was found that the amount could not possibly cover the cost of a chapel large enough to be of use for a college while in keeping with the academic building. The contract was eventually dissolved, and the lady generously paid the cost of the foundations which had been begun.

Ground for the college building was at length broken on June 21, 1899. a simple ceremony at which only a few friends were present. Doctor Garrigan blessed the sod, and then Sister Superior Julia turned the first shovelful of earth. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception, which was like a day in spring, the corner-stone of the college was laid with equally simple ceremonies. Cardinal Gibbons had suggested, what was already Sister-Superior Julia's intention, to go on quietly with everything until the time of dedication. Quietly, too, she selected the Sisters destined for teaching in the college and set them free from other duties to do the work of preparation. Two of them, Sister Josephine Ignatius, mistress of boarders at Roxbury, and Sister Mary, who held a similar position at Mount Notre Dame, were sent to Namur at the invitation of Reverend Mother Aimée de Jesus to become acquainted with European methods of teaching and to see whatever might be useful for the college. They met the most cordial reception, from this kind Mother herself and the community of Namur, and also in every house they visited in Belgium, England, and Scotland. In a special manner Sister Mary of St. Philip, Sister Mary of St. Wilfrid, and Sister Mary Xavier of the Notre Dame Training College in Liverpool shared with them the fruits of their ripe experience. On their return to America they brought with them Sister Mary Josephine from Mount Pleasant, whom the Mother General had selected for head of the department of English at the College, and a young American from the novitiate in Namur, destined for the same department later. At the summer school in Waltham that vacation Sister-Superior Julia had assembled nearly all the members of the future faculty. In September she called them to her at North Capitol Street, for the opening of the new house was near.

It was decided that in honor of the Infant Jesus of Prague, to Whom the success of the enterprise was devoutly attributed, the Community would take possession on the twenty-fifth of October. Some Sisters had gone out

there for several days previously and worked with a few servants to get the rooms ready. On Thursday, the twenty-fifth, therefore, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Sister Superior Julia and Sister Mary Euphrasia were driven out to Trinity in Mr. Talty's carriage and found awaiting them not only the rest of the community but with them our dear Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. Doctor Garrigan had carried it over from the chapel of the Catholic University at noon, coming through the woods of Trinity, a journey he ever recalled with consolation. Sister-Superior Julia was touched to the heart by this graciousness of our Divine Lord. The first Mass was said the next morning, Friday, at seven by Doctor Garrigan, who came also for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the late afternoon. At its close the Sisters sang a fervent Te Deum, in great joy and gratitude for all God's mercies. The spiritual favors of that first day presaged those of all the years since then. The names of the pioneer Sisters of the college are: Sister Lidwine of the Sacred Heart, Superior; Sister Josephine Ignatius, Dean; Sister Madeleine, Sister Mary, Sister Mary Josephine, Sister Mary Nepomucene, Sister Raphael of the Sacred Heart. Sister Odilia, Sister Blandina of the Sacred Heart, Sister Irene, Sister Anne de Marie, Sister Teresa of the Sacred Heart, Sister Ambrosine, Sister Agnita, Sister Mary Stephanie, and Sister Adelaide of the Sacred Heart. To these Sister Marie Cecilia, Sister Teresa of the Infant Jesus, Sister Agnes Maria, and Sister Euphemia of the Sacred Heart were added during the first half-year as the work increased or required adjustment. The names of the students who presented themselves in the first year deserve enumeration in these records as they, too, were pioneers. They are as follows: Margaret Louise Dooly, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mary Alice Gray, St. Louis, Mo.; Blanche Manning Gavin, Quincy, Mass.; Elizabeth Gertrude Lamb, Worcester, Mass.; Katherine Mary McEnelly, Hopkinton, Mass.; Mary Ellen McGorrisk, Des Moines, Iowa; Helen Loretto O"Mahoney, Lawrence, Mass.; Elsie Marie Parsons, Philadelphia, Pa.; Marie Frances Rotterman, Dayton, Ohio; Florence Marie Rudge (Day Student), Youngstown, Ohio; Alice Wasserbach (Day Student), Washington, D. C.; Mary Alice Scallon, Butte, Montana; Jessie Lee Johnson, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Agatha Agnes Linehan, New Haven, Connecticut; Mary Perpetua O'Connell, Parker, South Dakota; May Eleanor Sheridan, Dubuque, Iowa; Leila Hardin Bugg, Wichita, Kansas; Margaret Mary Kennedy, Washington, D. C.; Marie Clotilde Redfern, Washington, D. C. Sister-Superior Julia wrote during the first week that there were seventy-five workmen in the building, carpenters, painters, and the like, and the noise they made was sanctifying.

In regard to the generosity of the communities her words must be quoted as they flowed from her grateful heart. She is speaking of what she found before her at the new house:

"It keeps the heart soft and the eyes moist..... We only regret that we have not seventy reporters, like our big daily papers, or a number of exchanges, paste and a pair of scissors, such as the weekly periodicals rely

upon, that we might name all the gifts and all the givers, but in the Lord's big book all is recorded."

On the fourth of November she wrote that Trinity College was an accomplished fact, that six students (and from six different states) had taken up their abode in its classic halls the day before; that the faculty had arrived, that they had had Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament on the Feast of All Saints as usual, that they had made a tour of the house and had walked half an hour in the grounds, trying to take in all God's goodness to them. "The scenery is magnificent," is her concluding sentence; "we are nestled, as it were, in the hollow of our dear Lord's hand. No one can see us except those who pass on Michigan Avenue, and those for only about one hundred feet."

On Monday, November 5, the Journal records that at half-past five in the evening Monsignor Conaty, rector of the Catholic University, came to Trinity for the special purpose of addressing the faculty. His words were tenderly heartfelt and moved his listeners to tears. He spoke of the great work that lay before them; of the responsibilities that rested with them; of the interest that the country took in the development of the College; and then told them where to find strength, light, and help. "You have been chosen," he said, "from your whole Order to do this work. 'Come abide with Me,' Christ said to you as to his Apostles. Come abide with Me in this grove, where you will trim the lamp of faith and knowledge, where you will break the bread of wisdom to those who come seeking truth at your hands. Your daily Mass and meditation, your evening hour of prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, will be support and rest and light to you. So fear not to face the labor with all its difficulties. You are pioneers in this field, and pioneering is hard work."

The devoted priest who is now the chaplain of the students, Reverend Doctor William J. Kerby, of the University, began his services for the community with Mass at half-past six on November fourth, the first morning a community assembled. Reverend Doctor Garrigan also began those first days his duties as chaplain to the students and continued to come for their weekly confession and Benediction until he left the University to assume charge of his diocese of Sioux City. It was he who said the Mass of the Holy Ghost on Wednesday, November 7, when college work began, with seventeen students. After the last Gospel he said a few words to the students, telling them that when he placed the Blessed Sacrament in the lowly tabernacle he asked Our Lord that Trinity might always teach according to the mind of God, that its government and code of action might be always according to His Sacred Heart, and that the two virtues for which Trinity students and professors should be pre-eminent might be faith and charity. Reverend Doctor John T. Creagh became chaplain for the students in December, 1901.

The notes in the Journal for the next few days tell of visitors to the College, lay and clerical, among them the venerable Monsignor Nugent of Liverpool, who was greatly interested in all he saw. In between the dis-

tinguished names come items of progress of the workmen, of the endeavors to get community and class work on a firm footing, and of preparation for the great day of dedication, now drawing near. But there was time found for two Sisters to take charge of St. Anthony's Sunday School, Brookland, on November 18.

We insert here an extract from an article for *The Trinity College Record* of December, 1910, by Sister Wilfrid du Sacré Coeur, who was a pioneer student and is now Dean of the College. It paints the new foundation and details its early life from the general point of view, and gives as history what the zealous founders saw only as the future's fulfilment of their loving prayers. We put in brackets the changes since 1910 in the uses of certain rooms.

"Who of us, I wonder, who witnessed the opening of Trinity just ten years ago would have dared to prophesy the future which is now her present and her past? A building hopelessly unfinished, a handful of brave religious, a little group of earnest students, a vast deal of that enthusiasm without which nothing great is ever accomplished, much kindly encouragement from friends, enough discouragement to ensure the stability of the undertaking and mark it with the indispensable seal of the Cross—those were the conditions under which it happened.

And this is how Trinity first opened its doors to its students. It was Saturday noon, November 3, 1900, when amidst a depressing downpour of rain four students and one Sister wended their muddy way from the car track to the front door. When I said that Trinity opened its doors, I should have been more explicit—Trinity opened its *door*, for it had only one in a state resembling anything like completion. But where, oh, where was that door to be found? Our little party of pioneers steered their course to the front door (the present students' front door) only to find it partly boarded over and, safely entrenched behind the boards, a workman eating his dinner. 'Other door,' was his only reply to our anxious inquiries. So we tried the door of the present Chapel [Library], only to meet with an exact repetition of our first experience. But which *is* the other door?' wailed one of the party, for by this time we were beginning to feel like the "Light Brigade" or Labienus' third legion, or perhaps more truly like Napoleon's army in retreat. The sacristy door [veranda] gave us no warmer welcome than the other two, and the inevitable workman, his inevitable dinner (for we wanted our dinner. too) and his inevitable 'Other door' were beginning to wear on our enthusiasm. We really wanted to go to College, but how could we if there was no door by which we could enter? We tried to remember that 'in the bright lexicon of youth there's no such word as *fail*,' and by calling to mind a few other classic quotations equally suited to the occasion, we at last found that 'other door,' whose perpetually recurring refrain was beginning to haunt us.

It happened to be the door which is now sacred to the postman, for that end of the building alone was finished. Once safely inside, our welcome was as warm as its three predecessors had been cold and we began, under its beneficent influence, to feel our zeal for learning and our responsibility

as pioneers grow and increase within us. The first subject of our course was dinner and we had it in the present studio [Biology Laboratory], which had to serve as refectory for both Sisters and students (separately, of course) until Christmas. After it followed in due order a visit to the Chapel—in St. Jerome's [Biology Laboratory]—to our own rooms—all on the third and fourth floors, south wing, front, and to as much of the rest of the house as was finished. No, not finished, for no part of the building could claim that distinction and many were the prophets of woe who asked how any one could possibly carry on classes in *that* place? What made it possible was the brave spirit of Sister-Superior Julia, then provincial Superior of the Sisters of Notre Dame and pre-eminently foundress of the College, and the courage and generosity of that first community who faced positive hardship in order to make Trinity possible.

As for us students, the whole experience was one delightful picnic and it was a matter of much merriment to us that there was no gas in the house those first days, so that we had to perform our evening evolutions by candle-light, that we had to wade through inches of sawdust and shavings and climb up temporary and delightfully precarious stairways. And if the absence of glass in the doors of rooms necessitated the hanging of draperies—artistic and otherwise—it also singularly facilitated inter-communication and produced a comfortable feeling of interest in your neighbor's doings. Even real drawbacks had their ludicrous side—thus, the ubiquity of the workmen had something sociable about it and their prompt arrival at 7 A. M., perhaps in *your* room, meant that you were decidedly expeditious in getting down to breakfast. And if they persistently hammered outside the room where we were trying to follow a lecture, they also favored us with numerous musical selections, ranging in repertoire all the way from 'Two Little Girls in Blue' to 'Die Wacht am Rhein,' and 'Cavalleria Rusticana.' Sometimes these interludes strained our risibilities to the breaking point, as when one day a carpenter working at the base-boards outside the present French room [Spanish], then used for English, yielding to the seductions of a piano which, in default of other room was ornamenting the corridor, started to pick out on it, with his *thumb*, as far as we could make out, 'The wearing of the Green.' An English lesson of exceeding seriousness was going on at the same time, and the teacher, seeing the worried expression of our quivering faces, gravely requested one of the students to ask that man to stop. Which being done, the tension increased, but the lesson proceeded.

By November 6th there were nineteen students in the house, and the next morning, that all might be well begun, we had the Mass of the Holy Ghost in the dainty little Chapel arranged in St. Jerome's [Biological Laboratory]. The Mass was said by Very Reverend Doctor Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the Catholic University and Chaplain to the students of Trinity, now Right Reverend Bishop Garrigan of Sioux City, Iowa. [Died October 14, 1919. R. I. P.].

At 10 A. M. the same day there was an assembling of Faculty and students in solemn conclave in St. Paula. St. Paula, interested reader, was

the one-time name of the present museum and former Chapel [Philosophy Room], and the room opposite, wherein flourished the higher mathematics until the new building was opened and wherein are now to be found those fountain-heads of learning,—pen, ink, and paper of French-exercise fame,—in those days rejoiced in the euphonious appellation of St. Eustochium. It fulfilled the functions of a Social Hall, but do not believe for an instant that we ever attempted to pronounce its name—all our efforts in that line were limited to looking intelligent when the Dean pronounced it. In St. Paula then, behold us gathered. At the desk Sister-Superior Julia, who first addressed us on the *reasons* for undertaking the College; at her right Sister-Superior Lidwine, President of the College, who spoke to us next in order, on our opportunities and the great things expected of us; at her left Sister Josephine Ignatius, Dean of the Faculty, who outlined a college day as it was to be. The faculty were also present and were introduced in due order, after which there was an adjournment of the meeting, and the first lesson at Trinity took place at 11.30 that morning—it was an English lesson and was given by Sister Mary Josephine, who had come to us all the way from England. Other lessons followed—and by the next morning we were ready for regular work. Here is the program of studies of that first day:

8.30—Assembly.
—Mathematics.
9.30—Church History.
10.30—Intermission.
10.45—Greek.
11.45—English.
12.45—Intermission.
2.30—French.
3.15—German.
4.00—Intermission.
4.30—Help given by teachers in class-rooms.
5.30—Free.
6.00—Social Ethics.
6.30—Supper.
7.00—Social Hour.
8.00—Study in rooms.
9.30—Lights out.

It will be seen at a glance how little time there was for anything but hard work with Social Ethics at 6 P. M., Social Hour—which was a sort of general recreation with a different member of the Faculty presiding each evening, from 7 to 8, and lights out at 9.30. But we *did* work hard, one and all of us, and no one seemed to think it at all strange that we should; on the contrary, the usual advice of our many distinguished visitors could be summed up in these two words, 'hard work'!

The first lecture was given by Reverend Doctor Shahan at 9.30 on that 8th of November. and Reverend Doctor Pace began his course in Philosophy on the 12th. holding his first lessons in the Ancient Languages Room, now known to fame as the Dean's office [Italian Room]. The course in Religion was given on Friday afternoons by our reverend Chaplain and the lectures usually took place in the corridor outside the German room, all other available space large enough for community and students being occupied by the workmen.

The first really great event of that year was the solemn dedication of

the College on November 22d. and many were the preparations therefor. The Chapel was prepared in the very room where it now is [Library], work on floor and panelling having been pushed with vigor to make it possible. The ceremony began by a solemn blessing of the house by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, and was followed by solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by Monsignor Martinelli, His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons assisting from his pontifical throne. Right Reverend Bishop Conaty, then Monsignor Conaty, Rector of the University, preached a sermon of rare eloquence, in which the words *'Vivat, floreat, crescat'* were commented upon and repeated with stirring effect. Many distinguished guests were present, and for us there followed numerous and perplexing introductions. The music of the Mass was rendered in masterly fashion by the Paulist choir from the University. In the afternoon the ladies of the Board gave a reception to all our guests and the reception room was no other than the quondam Chapel thus quickly transformed by superhuman efforts and more than Herculean labors on the part of the community. I remember that we helped to carry out the folding chairs, but I am afraid our assistance ended there.

From the eve of Dedication Day dates the selection of our first Trinity colors, and the day itself saw each of us appear with a shoulder-knot of white and silver. About the same time the first class president was elected, and the first class color chosen—for those who may wish to know, that color was red. The first college song was also composed and sung, but we had to sing it to ourselves, for one of the curious features of the situation was that we were the only class in the house. There were no societies in those days, and Friday evenings were taken up by entertainments given by each of the students in turn.

The first Christmas vacation was spent by most of the students in the College, only four leaving for their homes. This was owing to the fact that the original intention had been to give us only five days—December 23-28, and to start classes again on the latter day. Hear and be astonished, all you who think yourselves hardly used in this matter! Most of the students had made arrangements to stay, and when the holiday was extended to January 2 it was too late to change plans, but they managed to make themselves very happy, from their accounts of it. Another pleasing feature of our holidays was the practice of making them up, which we did all through that first year. Whenever one fell on a week-day those classes were forthwith transferred to the following Saturday. The reason for it was that as we had not opened until November 7, there were six weeks of work to be made up, consequently any additional loss of time was not to be contemplated. It was a practice which effectually prevented our asking holidays from our ecclesiastical visitors, who were numerous.

After Christmas the workmen began to disappear, and the ground floor became available. The dining-hall began to serve its two-fold purpose of refectory and reception-room—the three tables being almost lost at one end of it; the Chapel was removed from St. Jerome's to St. Paula's, where we thought we had a delightfully large amount of room; varnish began to ap-

pear on the woodwork and polish on the floors; stairs were possible of ascent and descent; picture-moulding made some adornment of our rooms possible—altogether the College was transformed from the sort of camp it had been when we first arrived into a habitable and beautiful building. Life began to flow on smoothly and evenly, much work was accomplished, and there was little of the present necessity for going to the city except on sight-seeing expeditions. We were too busy studying (for we all came to College to study) and making traditions to think of much else. That does not mean that we did not know how to have a good time, but our times were really good in every sense of the word and were all the more keenly enjoyed because of the hard work we did.

As for the societies, the Musical was the first to come into existence, which it did in the fall of 1901; the Dramatic was formed in the second semester of the same year, and its first play was Tennyson's 'Princess,' given on the 23rd of April, 1902. The Literary Society began its functions simultaneously with the Dramatic; the Glee Club arose in the third year of the College, and first appears on the program on the 21st of November. at a concert by the Cecilian Society; the Eurydice was not organized until the fourth year and made its first appearance on November 20, 1903. All the other societies have been of later growth.

One of the most evident features of our development is the library. It began with 200 volumes and now contains 31,000.

SR. M. P.

NECROLOGY

VERY REV. EDWARD R. DYER, S.S., D.D.

In the passing of Father Dyer, Provincial of the Sulpicians in the United States, and President of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, on November 3, the Catholic Church in the United States was bereaved of one of its most eminent and distinguished priests. No priest was better known in this country. few, if any wielded greater influence. Scion of a well-known and highly esteemed family, Father Dyer was born in Washington, but his early years were spent at Piscataway, whence he returned as a young man to engage in commercial pursuits in the Capital. He then came under the influence of the Rev. John J. Keane, assistant pastor at St. Patrick's Church, later Bishop of Richmond, first rector of the Catholic University of America, Archbishop of Dubuque and one of the most brilliant churchmen in the United States. It was the future Archbishop's example and encouragement that led Father Dyer to study for the priesthood. Ordained in Paris on December 18, 1880, by Archbishop, afterward Cardinal Richard, Father Dyer spent a year at the Sulpician Solitude at Issy, whence he proceeded to Rome and spent two years in special theological studies. Returning to the United States, he became professor of Moral Theology at St. Mary's. Later he became Director of the Department of Philosophy, remaining at the Paca Street institution from 1886 to 1896. In that year he became President of St. Joseph's Seminary at Dunwoodie. When the Sulpicians retired from Dunwoodie, Father Dyer returned to Baltimore to become President of St. Mary's, succeeding the venerable Abbé Magnien.

More than two thousand priests were moulded and prepared for their sublime calling by Father Dyer. This great educator was known to few laymen, but none was better known to Cardinals, Archbishops and priests than this distinguished spiritual son of Jean Jacques Olier. The following excerpts from the funeral sermon by Monsignor Cassidy, who had been associated in earlier years with Father Dyer, are a fitting tribute to one who had instructed many unto justice.

> Doctor Dyer's whole life was given to the perfection of God's priesthood. For well nigh forty-five years the multitudes called and chosen for service in the vineyard of the Lord have sat at the feet of this seminarian of seminarians and have learned the lessons of the Master. I think it may be said without qualification that in every part of this great land. from Maine to California and from Minnesota to Mexico, priests stand at the altar and struggle and strive in the service of God with the spirit of Doctor Dyer upholding and strengthening them. He has been a mighty worker, both

for God and man and has been, in human judgment, a worthy bearer of the holy mantle of Saint Sulpice.

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Doctor Dyer has fulfilled the best traditions of that society which has sown holiness wherever it has been set and has unselfishly labored everywhere and at all times to produce a priesthood loyal to God and submissive to authority and devoted to fellowmen. In his after years, not only as rector of Saint Mary's, at Baltimore, but as vicar-general in the United States of the Society of Saint Sulpice, Doctor Dyer's work and influence extended throughout a wider field and added multifold to the obligations accruing from the earliest days of the Catholic Church in the United States to the devoted children of Father Olier.

We who walked closely with Doctor Dyer in his late years and were somewhat privileged to share his material cares and anxieties, were shamed and mortified to see him going about from diocese to diocese, yea, from house to house and from door to door, in a desperate effort to obtain means for the completion of Saint Charles', for the upbuilding of the society's work at Washington and the new Seminary in this seat and centre of American Catholicity.

In this connection I trust I do not overstep the bounds of delicacy and decorum when, in the name, not only of Saint Mary's Alumni, but of the Sulpician Alumni of the United States, here at the bier of our dead Father Dyer, I lay at the feet of His Grace, the Archbishop of Baltimore, the loving. affectionate, and sincere testimony of our heartfelt appreciation of the comfort, encouragement and support he has given to our friends and fathers in Christ. Thus would he speak, I know, who now lies silent, and thus I feel he speaks of God, of the Archbishop of Baltimore.

Broken by labor, wasted by suffering, consumed by zeal, a great spirit hath departed from this city; a great priest has offered up his last earthly sacrifice, a great teacher has taught his last earthly lesson; a great director hath given his last direction, a wise and prudent and courageous general hath given over his charge to others. His work is done. Let us pray that God may fructify his labors. Let us pray, as I know he would pray, that God will send successors to him and his, that the Society of Saint Sulpice in the future, as in the past, may be a blessing and benediction, glorifying God and sanctifyng the priesthood.

CHRONICLE

TRINITY COLLEGE.

The celebration on October 25, of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Trinity College, was marked by a solemnity befitting the occasion. His Grace Archbishop Curley pontificated at the Solemn Mass assisted by Doctors Fenlon and Webber. Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University, Monsignors Pace and Dougherty, Vice-Rectors, were present in the sanctuary. There were present all the clerical members of the Trinity teaching staff and representatives of the religious communities grouped around the University. The jubilee sermon, which is appended, was preached by Very Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby:—

The late lamented Bishop Philip Joseph Garrigan of Sioux City brought the Blessed Sacrament from the Chapel of the University to the temporary Chapel of Trinity College on the 25th of October, 1900. He was then Vice-Rector of the University and he had been an active figure in the founding of the College. He saw a beautiful spiritual symbolism in this action and he referred to it countless times in his later life, with expressions of gratitude and joy. The traditions which are in the keeping of the Sisters have held in a place of singular distinction, this coming of Our Divine Lord to the College. On that account, to-day was chosen for the Jubilee ceremony which commmorates the happy termination of the first twenty-five years of its history. Since the day when the sanctuary lamp was lighted, here, there has not been one moment of interruption in its indication of the presence of Christ among us. That lamp has become a fixed star in our firmament. We draw from it and relate to it every measure of progress and of cherished hope.

I am asked by the Right Reverend Bishop Shahan to give expression to the University's congratulations and cordial hopes for effective work in the cause of Catholic education. The relations between the University and the College have been mutually helpful and happy since the College was founded. The service in which we are now united around the altar is one of thanksgiving and praise to God for the blessings that indicate the care of his enduring love. We shall turn to-morrow to prayer for the happy repose of the benefactors of the College whose devotion has helped to carry it past the uncertain years of its now distant youth.

An anniversary such as this draws forward in the perspective of our attention the exacting difficulties associated with the foundation of the College. It arouses memories that occasion both joy and sadness, and it leads us into the solemn paths of large interpretation of life and of education. I shall allude briefly to our beginnings because I wish to mention names that will be honored in the history of the College. That honor was earned by the insight and courage of its first friends. The blessing of God has vindicated them and has brought to Trinity, sympathy and recognition from the Church throughout the United States.

There are some variations in the account of origins. These relate to details which have no importance that need engage attention now. Among those whom the College holds in reverent memory as its founders, I mention, first of all Sister Mary Euphrasia and Sister Julia of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, to whom too much credit can never be given; Bishop Philip Joseph Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University; Bishop Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the University; Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, then professor of Church History and now Rector, and Monsignor Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy.

These friends of the College had the insight that perceived the need of it. They obeyed the impulse that that understanding produced. They brought to that obedience, courage and foresight that had only slender foundation in visible promise but did have solid grounding in a beautiful faith. Their insight and courage were challenged by misunderstanding and by misrepresentation. They were tested severely by opposition. But the records that are preserved and the memory of contemporary witnesses record no faltering, no mistake of any consequence, no abating of zeal or weakening of determination.

Out of the uncertainty that the situation thus developed there arose one venerable figure, James Cardinal Gibbons, whose authority was equalled by his wisdom and kindness. His unfaltering encouragement gave certainty of success long in advance of its achievement.

All of those whose names I have mentioned, except Bishop Shahan and Monsignor Pace, have been taken away by death. Only four of the Sisters who were present when the College was opened are with us to-day, still members of this community. Of the five Superiors who have been at the head of the College, one, Sister M. Georgiana, died in 1920. There are forty-eight instructors now teaching here. Of this number twenty-two are Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur; eighteen are members of the Catholic University faculty; eight are lay women.

One thousand nine hundred and sixty-two students have been enrolled. Degrees have been conferred upon one thousand and ninety-five. Graduates of Trinity College have taken advanced work in fifty institutions of learning. The graduates from whom we have reports have entered the fields of law, medicine, teaching, religious communities, journalism, accounting, social service, marriage and motherhod, literature, business, drama, and library work.

The registration of the College to-day, three hundred and fifty-four, exceeds its capacity for the comfortable housing of students and Sisters. The health of the students has been uniformly good. We have been spared accident and annoying difficulties other than those of a minor kind incidental to all group life. Not a single death has occurred among the students while here.

The financial history of the College is of interest but this occasion forbids attention to it. In the absence of capital endowment and any large gifts of money, the wiping out of the debt on the College proper by the Sisters was an achievement of the first order. If it fails to attract atten-

tion, this occurs because industry and sacrifice cease to be conspicuous when they are customary. I may not, however, withhold a supreme tribute to the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur for their notable contribution to the strength of Catholic life in the creation and maintenance of Trinity. They carried the full responsibility and their work has been blessed indeed. Nor may I overlook the sympathy and support that have come to Trinity from every convent of the community in the United States.

The Auxiliary Board has been devoted and effective in every form of support and encouragement that the interests of the College invited. Its work will constitute a striking chapter in the history that shall yet be written. The benefactors of the College have, by an imposing aggregate of gifts and endowment for scholarships, done much to stimulate confidence and indicate widespread approval of the work and hopes of Trinity. The alumnae are faithful and helpful in the highest degree—reflecting honor on the college and bringing courage to those who work here.

Many points have been briefly touched upon. These hurried allusions will quicken memories and awaken appreciation in those who have been identified with the College throughout these first years. They have only a speculative interest for those whose relations to it are of more recent date. But all of us are of one mind in loving the College and in wishing it well. Our association in this service of thanksgiving and praise is proof of our common interest. I ask you to join gladly in this solemn Mass celebrated to give thanks to God for the Divine benevolence, for the approving touch of His mercies in which we find the promise of sufficient grace. I ask you to pray fervently that our wisdom may be equal to our tasks, that our accomplishments may justify your confidence, and that the students who come to us may never fail to find us equal to their needs.

I turn now to an attempt to describe the purpose of Trinity College. It aims to substitute the direction of life for the habit of drifting with life. It aims to give the students, right direction and to displace every tendency toward mistaken direction of purpose, effort and spirit. The right direction which the College aims to give is fixed by the teaching of Jesus Christ, by the axioms of Christian culture, by the Christian law of social relations and by the high spiritual compensations that are in the keeping of God. The College aims so to teach the principles of self-control and self-discipline, so to interpret human obligations, so to widen the power of fine appreciation as to enable the students to shape their individual purposes in harmony with the plans of God. It seeks to give them social and spiritual power beyond their personal needs in order that they may contribute generously through influence, service, and example to the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God in the heart of humanity. It aims so to chasten the valuations which guide them and the delights which allure them, as to make them effective interpreters of the harmony of Divine life, each in her own particular sphere.

All of this is undertaken in the teaching of the sciences and religion, in the cultural interpretations of the class room, in efforts toward character building and in explaining with sympathy and power the claims of culture

and of life upon them. The members of the Faculty represent many fields of learning. Their duties lie in the mastery of their sciences, in methods of effective teaching, in the imparting of adequate information, in the arousing of intellectual interests and in developing the capacity for refined appreciation which is the mark of culture. Everything that is aimed at or done by the administration of the College corroborates these high purposes and discourages all that is in conflict with them.

A college group is always inspiring to eyes that can see and to hearts that are quickened by large and enduring vision. The students are selected with care. They are brought together in daily surroundings far removed from the deceitful exigencies of life. Everything that could degrade or mislead them is removed as far as that removal is possible. Everything that can refine taste, re-enforce the better self and commend insight into essential values is found here to the degree that effort and devotedness can compel it. Noble ideals are brought down from the distant spaces of theory and are translated into tangible direction for behavior.

The College is the nursery of refined aspiration which is the surest remedy against the sordidness of life and the allurements of selfishness. It is the interpreter of past and present experience of humanity to the young who combine limited experience of life with compelling need of practical wisdom. It aims to prepare the young against their own ignorance, against the subtleties of corroborated selfishness, against everything that is thoughtless and unspiritual about them. The College gathers with tedious care the lessons of life and translates them to the students in the terms of their limited power of understanding.

These purposes are exalted and indeed holy. If we who represent and declare them are hampered by our own limitations, we have to ask the students to be patient with us in trust and good will. Faith in us, in the integrity of our efforts and the quality of our wisdom is of far more value to the students as they prepare for life than is their willingness or ability to perceive our limitations and dwell on them.

No student in any college can gain refinement of life or improve her insight into the wisdom of life if a false attitude be taken toward the true functions of the College or toward those to whom the heavy cares of its operation are for the time, committed. With the good will and industry of the students, any faculty is powerful. Without these, no faculty in the world can do its intended work.

Trinity is a Catholic College. Its active solicitude extends far beyond the limits of science at any particular moment. It takes into account relations between eternity and time, between God and man, between man and man, among soul, and mind and body. Trinity College is an outpost of eternity. So long as the sanctuary lamp burns, God and His Christ shall be law and inspiration here. The Divine interpretation of each life and of all lives, will be set forth not as mechanical routine but as the law of behavior, the rule of thought, the guide of aspiration, the scale of values, the test of life itself and of the truth which is its law. No one who is informed as to the mission of a College denies that character formation,

preparation for wholesome living and refined appreciation is the ultimate test of education. No one who is informed as to the declared purpose of a Catholic college, may forget that the precious truths of revelation must be laid down deep in the foundations of life or that the laws of Divine grace are as real and immediate as the laws of the physical world.

I set aside for the moment any discussion of the administration of the College, any explanation of the formal rôle of the Faculty in its work of instruction. Neither of these constitutes the real college although both of them are integral parts of it. My thought and my impulse drive me with swift compulsion to the consideration of the student body itself, to the atmosphere that the students create by their own deliberate or thoughtless choices. That atmosphere is more powerful and searching than any appeal from pulpit, class room or office of administration.

The spirit of the College rests on the public opinion of the students themselves. Their interpretations of behavior are more significant and penetrating than the efforts of any teacher as such. I am thinking of that intangible power that takes hold of the student when she enters the college door and commences a transformation of language, behavior, view, and thought. A body of practice develops among the students and becomes a supreme power, operating automatically on the campus, in the corridors, in confidences mutually given and received, in the class room, about the Chapel, and on the streets as students come and go day by day. That spirit is made known by the things that the students praise, by the things that they condemn with swift indignation or tolerate with visible reluctance, by the views that are encouraged and those that meet a withering scorn; by the renunciations that are gladly accepted, by the sympathies and impulses that are fostered, by the industry that is commended and by the aspirations and ambitions that meet endorsement in their spontaneous life.

When a lazy student is made to feel that she is out of place here; when the cynical student finds herself unwelcome and discouraged; when every kind of coarseness, and unbecoming relaxation in speech and behavior meets positive disapproval, we see the spirit of the students operating with good effect. When industry is encouraged and refinement is praised; when self-discipline performs its miracle in beautiful self-control; when the promptings of intelligent sympathy and instinctive reverence win direct approval; when the axioms of culture are re-enforced by glad and spontaneous acceptance, we know that the spirit of the College has been touched and quickened by the spirit of Jesus Christ. And then all is well. When we find the spirit of joyousness and buoyancy of youth touched by maidenly reserve and directed by the sacramental graces of Catholic life, we know that all is well. But when we see only the joyousness that springs out of a merry irresponsibility; when the whims of youth displace the wisdom of maturer age and short outlooks on life defy that wisdom, we miss true spiritual quality and we know that not all is well.

I think that the spirit of the student body, created automatically by the students themselves as their spontaneous interpretation of group life, is

the greatest single power in the College. Every other resource is conditioned for its good effect upon the corroboration given by this spirit. It is typical of the young to entertain many false attitudes toward life and education. They have the habit of taking short outlooks that result from lack of experience in responsibility. They are inclined to accept guidance from temperament and feeling and from the prevailing spirit of the time instead of seeking it through information, the experience of the race and the judgment of their elders. Grave is their need of understanding themselves, the implications of behavior, their individual purposes and the heavy claims of life upon them and upon their future.

As I think of the spirit of the College, of the student body, I see it in action the moment a freshman enters the door. That spirit takes hold of her in a subtle, constant way and begins its whispered admonitions, as an angel guardian might. Gradually and imperceptibly the freshman experiences the transformation that I have in mind. When she brings docility and serious purposes with her, and what freshman should come without these, she is prepared admirably for the benedictions of this transformation. Mean thoughts become distasteful, violations of the code of honor take on new ugliness. Laziness becomes ashamed of itself. Selfishness feels out of place and industry takes on compelling charm. Knowledge gains new attractions; personal refinement acquires new dignity. The harmonies of Christian life are promptly re-enforced. In this way without evident effort, perhaps without formal purpose, largely without consciousness of effect from the class room, the miracle of Christian character building proceeds. The student finds every alleged difficulty of noble living diminished, while the appeal of it enjoys superb enhancement.

The administration of the College operates under inherent limitations. The teachers in the class room labor under inherent limitations. I can readily imagine a course in Ethics that would fail to correct the character defects of a student., I can well imagine a course in Sociology failing to make a student wiser or to enrich her life by sympathetic understanding and acceptance of the axioms of culture. I believe that courses in History may fail to make a student reverent toward human experience and docile toward its lessons. I can imagine courses in the sciences that will fail to quicken the spiritual interpretations of nature and bring one nearer to God whose power declares its jurisdiction over the world. I can imagine students untouched by the preaching that they hear and the appeals that are made from this altar. But I cannot imagine a student escaping the jurisdiction and compelling power of a noble and spiritually quickened public opinion among the students themselves. I think that the work of the class room and of the pulpit receives its most welcome and effective re-enforcement from the student group. I believe that thoughts, appreciations, behavior, and efforts toward spiritual insight and dignity are more quickly affected by the student spirit than by formal teaching. As I say this I am conscious of no intention to diminish the importance of formal teaching or to underrate its appeal in the spiritual reconstruction of the world.

The chasm between formal instruction on the one hand and the process of actual living on the other, must be bridged before instruction can be converted into power for life, before the heart receives gratefully and obeys promptly the lessons in these truths that underlie the structure of the world. That chasm can be bridged effectively by the free choices of the students themselves as those choices are merged in the creation of the spirit of the College, the spirit of the student body which is the soul of the College itself.

I can imagine some exceptions to my general statement. We find students who bring vision and industry with them and can survive the discouragement of a careless college spirit. I can imagine students coming to College, victims of lassitude and of drifting. Some of them may be touched by the personality of a teacher and may be transformed into characters of high nobility by the miracle that such a personality finds it easy to perform. But I set aside such exceptions in order to state the general truth that I have in mind.

A college cannot achieve its consecrated purpose in any large measure except through the effective aid of the student body. And no one can create that spirit except the students themselves. I hold every student in the College responsible before God for the opportunities that she enjoys, for the conduct of her own life and for adequate preparation for her own future. I hold every student responsible for her example, for her personal influence, for her words and her attitude as these enter into the making of the College spirit. I am convinced that neither administration nor faculty could overcome the adverse effect of a settled irresponsible College spirit. And I hold that no administration and no faculty can fail when the spirit of the student body is quickened by the touch of Christ and made firm by the exalted purposes that should be cherished in student hearts.

We sometimes find among the young certain views which may hinder them from believing with me in respect of a college spirit. One may say for instance, "I live my own life. I have no responsibility for my influence on others. Let them take care of themselves." No college can do anything for such a student until this startling Gospel of Cain is set aside and the explicit teaching of Jesus Christ replaces it.

One may say "What I do does not count; it is not important." Such a view springs out of a shallow heart and uninformed mind. It is in direct conflict with every philosophical interpretation of the solidarity of human life. It is an obvious fallacy of selfishness that lacks the elementary charm of being original.

Illustrations drawn from the prevailing individualism that gives us so much concern, will suggest themselves readily to those who wish to follow the observation farther.

I like to think that we have no such students and no such views here. I prefer to believe that those who come to Trinity College have been effectively instructed in the personal and social no less than personal responsibility; that the hope of a noble and developed life arouses them to effort that lacks no element of sustained determination. I feel that the students

bring with them sincere purposes that spring out of a desire for spiritual growth, for personal and cultural refinement; and that they are glad to recognize every overtone of spiritual and cultural obligation created by their group life here. Students of this kind gladly recognize and embrace the opportunities which the College offers, and they compensate it nobly for these by their wholesome contributions to the upbuilding of the college spirit. When they do that and in the degree to which they do it, they make of the College a relay station through which the graces that come from Christ and the knowledge that He gives us are re-enforced on their way to touch and quicken student life.

I turn now to you, students of the College at this moment. You are the heirs of the past, keepers of the future. The College lays heavy claim upon you, upon your good will, upon your intelligence, upon your vision, upon your better selves. And I urge that claim in this imposing Presence with all the power that I can command. Memory beckons, calling me to look back over the twenty-five years that are ended to-day. But solicitude bids me to look to you and to the future through you.

The College asks a Jubilee gift on this great day. It asks you to understand the full sweep of your responsibility as I endeavor to interpret it in the terms of Christian group-living. The College asks you to be generous in your contributions to the content of the College spirit. It asks your help and deliberate consecration, both of these the outcome of high vision that is given to men of good will. The College asks your unhesitating trust in administration and in Faculty; in the intelligence and trustworthiness of those who for the moment, direct your lives. If my appeal may not have been in vain, if my interpretation of the College spirit show no serious flaw, may I not hope that the impulses of your loyalty and the abiding promise of your help may be given to the College as your immortal Jubilee gift.

Twenty-five years ago the Blessed Sacrament was brought here and the sanctuary lamp was lighted. Since that time it has not gone out. It has remained a fixed star in our firmament. May the College bring Christ to each of you in spirit, discipline, and service. May each one of you be as a sanctuary lamp to your fellow-students, suggesting Christ, leading toward Christ, bringing strength where there is weakness, insight where ignorance abides, consecration where is found paralyzing indifference.

Fair indeed is the vision that is in the keeping of the young. Winsome is the charm that holds us, your elders, enslaved to you by the bonds of affection and hope. I know well your latent capacity for refinement and for generous response to the call of any noble service. I know that if Our Lord came to you in visible presence and asked you to help Him to serve the souls that are enfolded in the keeping of His love, no faltering would slow your steps, no selfishness could defeat your consecration. If He were to tell you in those sweet tones that issued from His lips among the hills of Galilee that His interests in this College are dear to His heart, that the College is a sanctioned agency of His love, you would shrink from no effort to meet his expectations with generosity and joy.

Will you not believe that I speak in His name and that I make appeal for a service that takes on the proportions of grandeur when I ask you to make of this College a training school in the Divine life. Is this call lacking in authority because I utter it? Are you less convinced because I am unable to escape the limitations of my own halting words. Forget me if you will. Think not of my articulation as I ask this service of you. Think of Him and of the souls that He loves. Think of this your unparalleled opportunity to serve Him well. Gather all of the forces of conviction, all of the unfathomed power of resolution hidden in the fastness of your hearts as you prepare the answer that I ask in His name.

Glorious indeed shall be this Jubilee day if you offer to your College the promise to make its spirit powerful, and worthy of the culture that it wishes so sincerely to serve. And now as we turn toward the altar to complete the acts of adoration and thanksgiving that are intended, I ask you to trust even me as I say these things. Let not the wide years that separate me from you dim my voice or diminish the authority with which you are willing to credit me. Let your better selves, your solicitude to be noble and to live noble lives re-enforce my words and bid them abide with you always. Do this and I shall answer for your future and that of the College. Do this and you will yet be glad that you trusted me on this your Jubilee day.

1900—October 25.—1925.

Anniversary of the Bringing of the Blessed Sacrament to the *Chapel of Trinity College*,

By the RIGHT REVEREND P. J. GARRIGAN,

at one o'clock, through the woods from the *Catholic University*.

High noon in the woods of Trinity, sun and breeze
Of ripe October stir the wondering pines
And bend the oak and hemlock; to-day sees
Borne 'neath their shade Our Lord and King divine,
Unheralded and unpageanted save for them,
He goes as once upon Judean hills,
Yet hidden deeplier, for not garment's hem
Betrays Him; but a heart adorning thrills,
His priest, who bears the Guest
Unto His spouses, best
Reward for toilsome past, hope that the future fills.

High noon in the woods of Trinity, never sound
To break the holy silence save a note
Of bluebird, or, faint dropping on the ground,
Pine needles,—hushed, withdrawn, remote,

Earth's clamor died upon this path of peace
Where journeyed humble faith and loving trust
In power almighty, in help that would not cease
Though human aid should crumble into dust.
"Lord God, this work is Thine,"
So prayed His priest benign,
"Even as we count on Thee, be merciful and just."

Brave hearts in the house of Trinity on that day
A greeting to their King Divine entoned,
Green-garlanded and flower-strewed His way
And on their altar lovingly enthroned,
Largesse He gave in blessings, sanctified
Their dwelling, made their cloister home in truth,
Drew after Him young maidens, there to abide.
In sanctuary, and their lovely youth
More beautiful to make,
Its thirst for knowledge slake
From wisdom's fount that noble thirst renew'th.

Now five-and-twenty times woods green and gold
Sway in October breezes since the King
Under their boughs His hidden presence told
In fairer color than the sun can bring,
In balmier air, in sweeter woodland song,
In benedictions to waiting souls;
How has He marked the days that could but throng
With cares and labors manifold, the tolls
Laid upon high emprise
By time, that surely tries
Desire and effort, to match them with the goals?

Now five-and-twenty times do prayer
And praise that noonday's memories endow:
Ten times outnumbering those who waited there
Christ's spouses round His altar gather now;
Ten times ten times outnumbering youthful hearts
In the bright sunshine of God's love have basked,
Lived gaily here, gone forth to play their parts,
Nor unresponsive they when harder tasked
The Blessed Sacrament
Strong, peaceful, permanent
Has made our work even as his great heart tasked;

High joy in the house of Trinity! never left
Its altar the dear Master brought that day,
Never of priests devoted was bereft,
The Chalice to uplift at dawn and pay
To God with God the homage of our love,
Our grateful love for countless blessings poured,
Our joyful praise for grace all praise above,
In wondering thought and silence best adored,
When, bending low, His spouse
Renews her triple vows,
And giving all, gains all things from her Lord.

S. M. P.

Appropriate exercises in observance of Education Week were held at the Catholic University of America, on Monday, November 16; Wednesday, November 18; and Friday, November 20; from 12 to 1 o'clock. All classes were suspended during the noon hour on those days. Professors and students were present at the exercises.

PROGRAMME.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

Dr. McCarthy—The Constitution on Liberty and Justice.
Dr. Purcell—The Constitution as a Protector of Minorities.
Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan—The Significance of the Supreme Court Decision in the Oregon School Case.
Rev. Dr. James H. Ryan—The New Education Bill.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

Rev. Dr. McCormick—The Catholic Schools and Americanism.
Dr. Chambliss—The Catholic Schools and the Progress of Science.
Rev. Dr. Kerby—Catholic Americanization Movements.
Rev Dr. Cassidy—The Value of a Catholic College Education.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

Rev. Dr. Cooper—Religious Education.
Rev. Dr. Kirsch—The Religious Teacher.
Rev. Dr. Johnson—Catholic Teacher Training.
Monsignor Pace—Education for Peace.

Monsignor Pace's address follows:

EDUCATION FOR PEACE.

In a large sense, education for peace includes all those experiences which come to nations through contact with one another. The interchange of scientific thought, commercial and financial relations, the good offices of diplomacy, the adjustment of claims and the assistance rendered in time of calamity or distress are valuable means for binding the people of the world in closer harmony. In this sense war itself has its stern but efficacious teaching. The remembrance of its horror and havoc and costliness serves as a deterrent. The uncertainty of its issue makes rulers hesitate. As Christ Himself declared, "What king about to go to make war against another king, doth not first sit down and think whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that with twenty thousand cometh against him? Or else while the other is yet afar off, sending an embassy, he desireth conditions of peace."

This thinking, in a rational way, of war while it is yet afar off, is one of the great services which every citizen, in public station or in private capacity, can render his country. It leads on logically to thought about the means of preserving peace, and this wholesome preoccupation results in the effort to avoid everything that may be the occasion of conflict, or even a pretext for straining relations.

The development of the peace-loving habit of mind must begin with the earliest years of each citizen's life. It is the concern of education in the stricter sense, a function of school and college. It is, or it should be, an essential part of every teacher's duty. It should affect every faculty of the pupil's mind— imagination, emotion, intellect and will. Directly or indirectly, formally or incidentally, it should enter into the teaching of every school subject and in particular of those things which have the strongest appeal to human interests.

This does not mean that the school shall exaggerate the value of peace or hold it up as a condition that must be preserved at all costs, such instruction probably will defeat its own purpose. It will appear to the student of maturer years as a falsification—well-meant, no doubt but untrue in principle or in statement of fact, and therefore misleading.

To avert this bad result, the teacher first of all, must understand and carefully consider the attitude of mind which he has to develop. He must look at this question of war from all possible angles and in particular from the ethical point of view. By so doing, he will come to recognize, as a matter of principle, that war under given conditions is justified, and even more, that the waging of war may become a nation's imperative duty.

On the other hand, keeping always in mind what war implies, the teacher will convince himself that it is the extreme measure—to be prevented if possible, to be adopted only as the last resort, and never to be adopted save for good, just and sufficient cause. And his function as a

teacher is to implant this conviction in the minds of his pupils so firmly that it will grow deeper and stronger as they advance to maturity of judgment and take up in full measure the duties of citizenship.

Throughout this process, the essential principles of method must be applied. Instruction must be adapted to the pupil's growing capacity at each stage of his development. In the early period when imagination is dominant, supply it with pictures that present the beauty of peace and its manifold blessings. As the imitative tendency asserts itself, hold up before it the lives and achievements of men and women who are truly heroic—shining examples of good-will, of service to humanity of devotion to truth, of sacrifice and patient endurance, of loyalty to duty, of consecration to Christ, of unswerving fidelity to God and His law.

Let models of this type stir the finer emotions—of sympathy, of admiration, of joy in the knowledge that the greatest of men have been the builders, not the destroyers; the sowers of friendship, not of hatred; the reapers of gratitude, not of execration.

Retained in memory, enriched by reflection and historical study images such as these will serve as the basis for the understanding of the moral issues which the question of war and peace inevitably bring to the fore.

If preparation for national defense is necessary, preparedness to reason calmly, to weigh alternatives and to avoid precipitate action is the more urgent need of government and people alike.

If education is to further the cause of peace, it must engender the habit of considering the rights of others no less than our own. But respect for another nation's rights depends largely in the estimate one forms of its people, their qualities and their contributions to the welfare of mankind. From this point of view it is bad educational practice to be forever extolling our own merits and, in contrast pointing only to the defects of other peoples. It is well that our children be proud of their country; but their pride and ours will be more fully justified when, as a result of genuine education, we shall appreciate the fact that there was some civilization in the world before Columbus the foreigner came to these shores.

Our pupils, then, whether they are later to enjoy the broadening experience of travel in other lands or to depend upon what they may learn by reading, and similar means of enlightenment, should be taught to see the good in every nation, and to make allowance for what is less good, remembering always that we Americans have still some room for improvement.

We have yet to realize our ideals of liberty, of a free people governing themselves, with due respect for authority and of the freedom to which every citizen is entitled. We want tolerance, in spirit and in fact. But we want more than tolerance. We want such recognition of our rights as American citizens that action in accordance with the teachings of faith and the dictates of conscience shall not merely be tolerated but also protected and encouraged in the name of freedom and for the sake of justice.

To inculcate this spirit, to make narrowness and sectional bitterness impossible at home is to develop a breadth of view and a calmness of judgment that will go far toward the maintenance of friendly relations with all other people. Given such an education, it will no longer be necessary for

us to boast of our superiority, our progress or our beneficent purpose towards all mankind. The nations that to-day, in their economic distress are seeking aid and relief from us will profit by our patient generosity. They will profit much more, spiritually and morally, if they take back to their respective countries the lessons of justice and charity which America can give them largely and effectually. Only by this sort of world-education can we fully repay what we owe them for their contributions to our civilization and national prosperity.

One other great lesson we can teach them, if first we teach it to ourselves and our children. Now that we are trying to restore something like normal conditions, we frequently hear the question—Who is, or was, responsible for the war? An interesting question no doubt—with a wide range for all sorts of philosophy. But why was it not asked before the outbreak of war? Why should not the people in every country realize, before the crisis is on them, that war means an enormous weight of responsibility? Some one surely—some individual or group or party, perhaps some nation as a whole—must be held to accounting by the world, as it certainly is held by the Supreme Ruler and Julge of right and wrong among men. But what if the people have never understood that there is such a responsibility and therefore have never felt its weight? The sense of responsibility cannot be aroused where it does not exist. It cannot be created when the nation is on the brink of war. It must be developed in time of peace. The pupil in school must be trained to know his responsibilities, to bear them without reluctance, to meet them without shirking the least of his obligations. This wholesome habit of mind will save him from many a step in the wrong direction, from many an impulse which he learns, too late, to condemn for its rashness.

An education which cultivates these attitudes and qualities may be given on a purely natural basis. It may keep in view nothing more than our national welfare. And so far as it does this effectually it will further, in no small degree, the preservation of peace.

For the Christian, however, there are higher considerations, and therefore for Catholic education a more thorough kind of training. The very fact that the Church is universal means that we as Catholics have brethren in the faith in every nation. And just as the visible Head of the Church deplores even the possibility of conflict among people all of whom he cherishes with the same paternal love, so, following upon his example, it behooves us to strive for the spread and continuation of peace, not only because it is best for the well-being and happiness of men, but, especially, because it is in keeping with God's design. We insist that religion be taught in our schools. Let us further make sure that religion, in doctrine and precept, shall not simply keep the nations from war but foster among them such friendliness as will make them one in all that concerns our human interests. From their unity and their co-operation for the nobler purposes of life, there will grow and spread upon earth that peace for which the Holy Father continually prays—"Pax Christi in regno Christi."

The *Universe* correspondent in Rome writing of closing ceremonies of the Nicene Council Commemoration says:

The imposing ceremony on November 15 in St. Peter's was truly worthy of the historic event it commemorated, of the universality of the Church which it so vividly displayed, and of the majestic strength of the Roman Pontificate, corner-stone of the whole Christian structure.

Over the relics of the first Pope, St. Peter, in the presence of his present direct successor, at an altar specially raised in the centre of the great Vatican Basilica, over which stood the most ancient and most venerated image in the whole of Christendom, Eastern and Western—bishops and priests, representative of every Eastern Uniate rite, gathered to con-celebrate the sacred Liturgy as ordered by the holy Father, St. John Chrysostom.

Great crowds filled the Basilica. There were no tribunes except those for Diplomats and the Roman nobility. In the Royal Tribune could be seen the ex-King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, with his daughter and son-in-law, and the Infante of Spain, Alphonse d'Orléans, with his wife.

Nothing was wanting to a full Greek liturgical setting, the square altar with steps all round it, the tables, the icons—all except the Iconostasis, which would have been quite impracticable in a Cappella Papale.

The Papal procession descended the Scala Regia into the Atrium of St. Peter's, where the Eastern clergy met the Pope to offer him their "Obedience." Entering the Basilica on the "Sede gestatoria," and once seated on his throne, the Cardinals came one by one to pay their homage to the Pope. Then began the liturgy, admirably directed by D. Placid de Seester, O.S.B., Professor of Liturgy at the Greek College here, accompanied by the chants so splendidly sung by a mixed choir led by the Rector of the Greek College.

Deeply moving and impressive were the Consecration and the Communion, under both kinds of the con-celebrants and of the faithful, making one wonder how it can be possible to try to represent Eastern Christianity as anything but supremely and essentially Eucharistic in the most literal and traditional sense of the word.

Another solemn moment was the recitation—in Greek and in Latin—of the Nicene Creed—with the Cardinals standing erect in semi-circle in the middle of the church and the Orientals all gathered round their Altar. It was a generous as well as a highly politic "geste" of Pius XI. to grant the celebrating Metropolitan the very unusual privilege of using the Pastoral Staff in his presence and in his own Vatican Basilica, and the East has not been slow to notice and appreciate it.

When the formula of Papal Blessing had been proclaimed in both languages, the Eastern clergy retired. The Papal cortège was formed again and passing down the long nave returned to the Vatican.

In the afternoon there was a solemn Benediction and Te Deum, with Cardinal Merry del Val as celebrant.

The Sacred Image of our Saviour remained three days exposed on the Papal Altar of St. Peter's. The beautiful altar given by the late Cardinal

Rampolla was set up in front of the *Confessio*, and Masses in all rites were celebrated there without interruption, while the flow of worshippers never failed. Every evening the Nicene Creed was sung and the Relics of the Passion were exhibited for veneration from the Loggia of St. Veronica.

On the second day, Pius XI. himself descended into the Basilica to venerate the exposed Image—surrounding this act with much solemnity and accompanying it with public prayer, in which his court and the Chapter of St. Peter's joined. The Pope afterwards took the opportunity of seeing and admiring the new mosaic by Muccioli representing St. Margaret Mary Alacoque.

On the Wednesday evening (alas, in pouring rain), the Icon was solemnly taken to St. Mary's Major, once more on the chariot drawn by six horses, which the Municipality of Rome provided, preceded by a long escort of motor-cars through gaily illuminated streets.

After veneration at St. Mary Major's, the Sacred image was in triumph carried back to the Lateran, this time favoured by fine weather. The Square of the Basilica presented a beautiful sight, illuminated and draped. Over the great Hospital towered a huge Cross of electric lights. Amid hymns and canticles and with a final blessing in the public square to the thousands of faithful gathered there, the Icon was replaced in its Chapel over the Scala Santa. And thus closed the solemn epoch-making Commemoration of the XVIth Centenary of Nicea.

Of its unprecedented success, and of his own great satisfaction, the Pope spoke enthusiastically to the Oriental bishops and clergy who had taken part in the great ceremony, when he received them in audience. He thanked them and appealed for their prayers that the event might not merely be a great commemoration of the past, but also the harbinger of future blessings towards the return of separated brethren to the one true fold.

The *Osservatore Romano* published a learned article on the Council of Nicea from the pen of Archbishop Pisani, sometime Delegate in India, which concludes with a parallel of the world's condition to-day, and that following Constantine's wars, and pointing out how just as Nicea was the salvation of belief in religion in those days, so, in Providence's plan, the expected re-opening of the Vatican Council may prove to be God's remedy for our present ills.

During a recent visit to St. Louis, Mo., as a guest of the English-speaking Union, Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador to the United States, was entertained by the Faculty of St. Louis University, which is under the direction of the Jesuits.

An interesting link between the University and Great Britain was recalled by the President of the University, Fr. Charles H. Cloud, who expressed his pleasure at being able to welcome the Catholic Ambassador.

"The first document in our possession to prove the use of the title of 'university,'" said Fr. Cloud, "is a deed of gift now in our library, which records the presentation in 1831 of copies of the Doomsday Book and other

books to St. Louis University by the Government of Great Britain. I take occasion to thank the British Government in the person of its Ambassador for that gift."

Speaking as the guest of honour at a banquet given by the English-Speaking Union, Sir Esme Howard said:

"Because I believe that, in spite of some lapses which are unavoidable in view of human imperfections, the British-American ideal in life is just and square dealing, I shall continue to advocate a clear, frank, friendly understanding between our two countries as long as there is any breath in my body."

A branch of the Pontifical Biblical Institute is to be established in Jerusalem. The corner-stone was laid at the beginning of November by Monsignor Barlassina, the Latin Patriarch. Delegations representing the various religious communities of the Holy City attended the ceremony, as did the French, Spanish, Italian, and Polish Consuls, and Sir Roland Sters, British Governor of Jerusalem.

The Rev. Alexis Mallon, S.J., a noted archaeologist and Professor of Egyptology at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, delivered the principal address, in which he reviewed the steps leading up to the establishment of the Jerusalem branch of the Institute and pointed out the need for such an agency in the Holy Land.

"When Pope Pius X. established the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome," said Father Mallon, "it soon became apparent that some such agency as the Jerusalem branch was needed. Students, when they had completed their courses in Rome, frequently expressed a desire to visit the Holy Land to gain first-hand information of the scenes concerning which they had been studying. Many of these students wished to spend a considerable period of study amidst the scenes of the Biblical narrative."

The Roman authorities, according to Father Mallon, felt that the instruction of these young priests could best be completed by some time spent in the Holy Land and the question of a suitable site for the proposed institution was taken up for consideration. For a time there was a thought of establishing the branch of the Institute at Beyrout, where the University of St. Joseph had an Oriental faculty already established. Carmel also was considered for a time, but it soon become evident that the proper site was Jerusalem, and Pope Pius X. gave his approval of that location. As far back as 1913 a group of professors and students visited the East to complete the studies they had started in Rome. In 1914 all was in readiness to start the construction of the branch, but the World War intervened.

The speaker emphasized that the Institute at Rome and the branch here —both of which are entrusted to the Jesuits—will not be competing institutions.

"The aim is quite plain," he said. "The Biblical Institute exists at Rome and there is no question of creating a second one at Jerusalem. The two houses complete each other as two parts of one and the same institution. In the Eternal City it is the theory that is taught. In the Holy

Land practical application of the theory is made. There is neither a breaking off from the parent stem nor a ramification but simply the logical development and indispensable corollary of the original plan."

The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the largest library in the world, has been modernized. It is now lighted by electricity. Hitherto nature supplied the only light available. Those who wished more were welcome to read elsewhere; the sun was enough for the Bibliothèque Nationale. The New York *Times* of December 6 says:

The Bibliothèque Nationale—in non-republican times known as the Bibliothèque du Roi, the Bibliothèque Royale and the Bibliothèque Imperial—has more books than the British Museum or the American Library of Congress, and on general subjects is probably richer than the Library of the Vatican. St. Louis, who died in 1270, began the collection of books for France, and Charles V added to them. But the royal library was sold to the Duke of Bedford in 1423, and it remained for Louis XII, who died in 1515. to re-establish the library, having treasured the books of his predecessor, Charles VII, in his Château of Blois, and having bought, besides, the library of Sforza of Milan and that of the Gruuthuuse family of Bruges.

Francis I moved the library to Fontainebleau and enlarged it considerably through his decree that a copy of every work printed in France should be sent to its shelves. Later the collection was moved to Paris and placed by Henri IV in the suppressed Jesuit College de Clermont, the property of which was sold to provide the books with bindings. Louis XIV enlarged the library by the purchase of 9,000 volumes from du Puy, 10,000 from Mentel and others from other collectors. His successor had all these works transferred to the present building in 1724 and after the Revolution all the precious books of the suppressed religious orders were added. Since then additions both modern and ancient have been made year after year.

Among its treasures are some of the world's most valuable manuscripts from the fifth to the fifteenth century, and some of the richest bindings ever, studded with gems and embossed with the arms of kings. There may be seen there the originals of the gospels of Charlemagne, Lothaire and Louis le Debonnaire. There, too, is the *Christianismi Restitutio* of Michael Servetus, for the writing of which Calvin ordered the author to be burned at the stake in 1553.

Among music manuscripts is the autographed score of Glück's "Alcestis," and many manuscripts of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Numerous autographs of famous men and women have been preserved—letters of Rabelais, Montaigne, Racine, Voltaire, Molière, Corneille, Mms. de Sevignè and Mary Stuart.

Beneath the fine ceiling paintings of the Galerie Mazarin, which was part of the palace of Cardinal Mazarin, is the Mazarin Bible, probably from the press of Gutenberg and Fust at Mayence, also the first book imprinted with a date, a Latin psalter of 1457.

In the archives are ancient wax tablets with accounts set down in the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and a roll with the oldest catalogue of the library's books, dated 1373. There is Nithard's history, recording the oath taken by the sons of Louis le Debonnaire in 842. In addition to its wealth of literature, the Bibliothèque Nationale holds a museum of medals, gems, intaglios, cameos and other antiques. The *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) of date October 15 states:

Dr. J. Schmidlin, of the University of Münster i. W., has published a second edition of his work *Katholische Missionswissenschaft im Grundriss* (Aschendorff), by which he may be said to have laid the foundation for the new and thriving "mission science." The excellent work has been carefully revised and brought up to date in every detail, though we should have liked to see the author utilize more extensively than he has done Fr. Grentrup's S.V.D. recently published *Ius Missionarium* and the innumerable decrees and decisions issued in course of time by the S. Congregation of the Propaganda. A year or two ago there was some talk of an English edition of this monumental work; let us hope that the American branch of the Society of the Divine Word, which is foremost in all undertakings for the promotion of the foreign missions, will undertake also the important task of providing American schools and the clergy with a text-book of mission science. The recent International Malaria Congress at Rome has attracted attention to the scientific work of the missionaries and the part played by them in the discovery and dissemination through Europe of the cure of malaria by the powders extracted from the bark of the quina quina. According to a paper recently published by Dr. Canezza, the merit of this exceptional discovery belongs to Father Bartolomeo Tafur, S.J., Procurator of the Jesuit Order in the Peruvian Province, who visited Rome in 1642, and in 1646 made known to his confrères the febrifuge properties of the bark revealed to him by natives whom he had converted in Peru. The Jesuits later carried quinine with them to China, and the powder not only proved the salvation of the mission, but cured the fevers of the Emperor Kanshi, who, having already recognized the ability of the Jesuits as astronomers, likewise recognized them as physicians superior in skill to those of his empire and lavished favors upon them. The Malaria Section of the Medical Pavilion of the Vatican Missionary Exposition contains some copies of ancient books devoted to the subject of quinine. The Santo Spirito Hospital, in Rome, has an ancient fresco showing Cardinal De Lugo supervising in person the preparation and distribution of quinine to the sick. While the contemporaries of Father Tafur were divided in their opinions of his discoveries, Cardinal De Lugo became his steadfast friend and champion, and in the face of much opposition succeeded in imposing upon the Romans the use of these powders. So great was his interest in the new medicine, that whereas quinine had first been called the "Powders of the Jesuits," it later became known as "Cardinal De Lugo's Powder."

At the University of Pavia a tablet was unveiled on November 4 to the memory of a great Irish scholar, Dr. John Lanigan. He was pro-

fessor of Hebrew and ecclesiastical history in the university but his most lasting title to fame is his ecclesiastical history of Ireland, a monumental work which appeared in 1822.

Dr. Lanigan was born in 1758 in Cashel, Tipperary county, and completed his education in Rome where he was ordained. His professorship at Pavia, began in 1785 and continued until Napoleon's invasion of Italy eleven years later caused the university to be dispersed. Returning to Ireland, he became librarian of the Dublin Society and set to work on the history which still remains the most authoritative source of information on the annals of the Celtic Church.

For some time past the National University in Dublin and the University of Pavia have been in correspondance regarding the tablet. The Rev. T. A. Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt., represented the National University at the unveiling ceremony.

Rev. Gilbert Garrigan, of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., historian and author, has returned from Europe, where he was engaged in historical research. He found in the Vatican Library and in the archives at Paris, numerous documents bearing on the early colonial history of America and the war of the Revolution. In a Paris library, he chanced upon what he believes, the oldest extant map of St. Louis. It is dated in the year 1700, and shows a settlement at the junction of the Mississippi and Des Pères rivers, at which there was a Jesuit mission.

For the first time in its history, the Vatican has called an American priest to Rome for assignment to a post in the office of the Papal Secretary of State. The action is taken here as a recognition of the rapid growth and development of the Catholic Church in America. which makes it desirable that an American priest be available in the office of the Cardinal Secretary of State.

The Rev. Francis J. Spellman, D.D., of the staff of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston, is the cleric selected for the position. He will shortly take up his new duties in the Eternal City.

Dr. Spellman is a graduate of the American College at Rome, but has been doing diocesan work under Cardinal O'Connell's direction for virtually ten years, since his ordination in Rome in 1916. He is one of the most widely-known priests in the Archdiocese of Boston.

The five hundredth year of the existence of the University of Louvain was inaugurated at the beginning of November with the Solemn High Mass of the Holy Ghost and the other elaborate ceremonies which always mark the opening of the scholastic year. The opening of Louvain is one of the great annual events in Belgium. This year in the rector's address some of the innovations announced are: The establishment of course of lectures on Greek Orthodox Theology in line with the Pope's interest in the reunion of the Christian Churches and lecture courses on art, history, and

political economy for medical students, as a means of developing their general culture. It was also announced that due to the generous response by the Belgian people the buildings which will house the Cancer Institute established in connection with the Medical Department of the University, are now under construction. The radium pavilion which is to be placed in charge of Professor Maisin, is near completion.

The Newfoundland press announces the elevation of one of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW'S most brilliant contributors, Very Rev. W. P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D., to the dignity of a Domestic Prelate of His Holiness Pius XI. Dr. Kitchin is a native of St. John's, an alumnus of the Sulpician Seminary at Issy, and a graduate of the University of Louvain, one of Cardinal Mercier's most distinguished students. Though he has been actively engaged in parochial work since ordination (he is now pastor of parish of nearly eight thousand souls). Dr. Kitchin has been a close student and a prolific writer. He has written largely for American Catholic periodicals and his articles and book reviews in the *Magnificat Catholic World*, and CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW are indicative of rare scholarship and profound erudition.

Dr. Frederick Lynch, editor of *Christian Work* of New York, who has recently visited Rome, was deeply touched by what he saw at the Vatican. He says (Vol. 119, No. 16): "It is quite generally felt, that the rather human and democratic ways of the present Pope meeting these throngs (of pilgrims) every day—practically any one can get admission—and preaching to them, is doing more to strengthen the loyalty of Roman Catholics than the attitude of rather mysterious aloofness shown by some previous popes. If any one has an illusion about the Roman Catholic Church losing its hold upon the people, one day in Rome will banish it." Of the attempt made by certain Protestant sects in Italy to pervert Catholics, Dr. Lynch does not approve. "I wish the Protestants going to Rome might be very modest in their claims and very frank in stating that they have not come to convert their fellow-Christians, but are there to minister to those who are of no faith. There are thousands who are pronounced atheists and who hate religion as well as the Church..... I should like to see the Protestants who have come to Rome say they are there to lead these Freemasons to Christianity. That is where this work is needed, and I doubt if the Roman Catholics in Rome would object to their coming for this purpose. They do object to their coming to carry on missionary work among Roman Catholics." In conclusion, Dr. Lynch expresses the opinion that "the chances of Protestantism ever making great advances in Italy are very slight."

The *Tablet* of October 31, says:

Lecturing at Edinburgh recently to members of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, the Rev. Professor Sayce, D.D., LL.D., described the important results which have rewarded excavators at the church of S. Sebas-

tiano, Rome. The following interesting account of the Professor's lecture is from the *Scotsman*.

The lecturer described the excavations, first begun in 1915, which are being carried on under the church of S. Sebastiano, at Rome, about a mile and a half outside the Appian Gate. The church stands above an early Christian cemetery known in classical times as the Catacombs, a name which, in the eighteenth century, was extended to the other early Christian cemeteries of Rome, and for the first time excavations on a site of the kind are being conducted in accordance with modern scientific methods. The church is an ugly structure erected in the age of the Renaissance over a large basilica built by Pope Damascus in the fourth century, in honour of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and an inscription in verse, in which the Pope commemorated his work, has been discovered by the excavators. We learn from a passage quoted by Eusebius, from the Presbyter Calus, who was born in A. D. 210, that the bodies of the two apostles were then lying in their original resting-places, the one on the Vatican and the other on the Appian Road, where they were visited by Christian pilgrims; at a later date, however, in A. D. 258, in the time of the Valerian persecution, they were removed, for the sake of safety, to the Catacombs, and there secreted (according to a tradition, at the bottom of a well). When Constantine built the basilica on the Vatican, where the church of St. Peter's now stands, the bodies were entombed under the high altar, now known as the "Confessio Petri," immediately below the high altar of the existing building.

The excavations have shown that below the basilica was a *triclinium*, or dining hall, from which the pilgrims descended into a corridor cut in the rock and opening into a line of tombs of the first and second centuries. At the end of it was the niche in which the bodies of the apostles were placed, and which is separated from the bottom of a well by a thin wall of rock. The walls of the *triclinium* and stairway are covered with *graffiti*, belonging to the latter part of the third century, and written by pilgrims who came to visit the bodies of the two apostles. Most of the *graffiti* run as follows:—"O Paul and Peter, pray for Victor," "O Paul, Peter, and you who read, keep Sozomen in mind," but there are some which inform us that, before or after the visit below, a "refreshment" or "supper" was partaken of in the *triclinium* itself. There are pictures of the "supper" in one of the tombs, from which we learn that the table was crescent-shaped, the participants in the feast sitting on one side of it. It is interesting to find that a recollection of the primitive "Agape" thus survived in Rome up to the end of the third century. Archæologically, therefore, it is now certain that the bodies of SS. Paul and Peter are actually lying at present under the high altar of St. Peter's. This is the most interesting and important result of the excavations, but much else has been found of interest to the early history of Christianity. One of the tombs, for instance, belongs to a certain freeman named Hermes, and if, as the lettering of the

inscription makes probable, he died towards the end of the first century, he may have been the Hermes mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans. Hermes, at all events, was not a common name at Rome.

Representatives of the Alumni Societies of thirty-two Catholic colleges and universities attended the first annual convention of the National Catholic Alumni Federation which was held in New York on Nov. 6, 7 and 8. From every section of the country from Spokane, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., to Manchester. N. H., and from Austin, Tex., to Chicago, Catholic higher institutions of learning sent their executives as well as their alumni representatives to take part in the organization convention of this newest of national federations.

The National Catholic Alumni Federation was formally launched on its career under most favorable auspices. His Holiness Pope Pius XI. sent his Apostolic blessing to the new federation, and His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of New York presided and made the keynote address at the opening session at the Hotel Commodore on Friday afternoon Distinguished representatives of Catholic colleges took active part in the deliberations of the convention and helped to outline the field of activities which the new organization hopes to cover.

It was explained that the new Federation is intended to be a union of alumni societies, and will in no way interfere with the work the various alumni societies are doing in their own spheres. The new Federation will be a clearing house for ideas, hoping to assist each alumni society in its own work by standardizing methods, and, in the near future, of centralizing the efforts of the Federation on a few concrete plans that will be of material and practical assistance to the cause of Catholic education throughout America.

The convention continued for three days, and included a reception at the Catholic Club on Friday evening, Nov. 6, a Solemn Pontifical Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday morning, at which Cardinal Hayes presided on the throne, and at which the Right Rev. Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., pontificated. The Rev. James H. Ryan, D.D., executive secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Council, delivered the sermon. On Sunday evening the convention closed with a banquet in the grand ball-room of the Commodore, at which over 700 college men were present. The Hon. Victor J. Dowling, K.S.G., was toastmaster, and the speakers included such men of prominence as Senator David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts; the Rev. Joseph N. Dinand, S.J., president of Holy Cross College, Worcester Mass.; the Rev. Francis P. Duffy, chaplain of the Sixty-ninth Regiment; Knute K. Rockne, coach of the Notre Dame University football team; the Hon. John F. Crosby, of Massachusetts, and Edward S. Dore. Col. William N. Haskell, U. S. A., whose name was included among the list of speakers, was unable to be present.

Cardinal Speaks at Opening Session.

Cardinal Hayes' address at the first session of the convention was a thoughtful discourse on the service that college bred men can render to America and the great need of applying Catholic philosophy to the problems of the day.

Bishop Shahan Shows Need for the Federation.

At the reception given to the visiting delegates on Friday evening at the Catholic Club Hugh A. O'Donnell, Notre Dame, presided. The speakers included Bishop Shahan of the Catholic University. the Hon. Martin Conboy, president of the Catholic Club; Supreme Court Justice Victor J. Dowling, and former Congressman John J. Fitzgerald, of Brooklyn. An unusually fine program of songs was provided by Raphaelo Diaz, the Metropolitan Opera tenor. and Miss Louise Baye, the American lyric coloratura soprano. Mr. Diaz had sung several selections at the afternoon session, and his generosity in singing again in the evening was particularly appreciated.

Bishop Shahan in his address clearly outlined the need for the new federation and the scope of its activities. He said in part:

"Mr. President: It seems most probable that no one will question the purpose, timeliness, or spirit of our meeting this evening. We have the approval of His Eminence Cardinal Hayes, and of the Catholic clergy generally; the sympathy, good-will and co-operation of many of the associations it is proposed to federate. Our first steps are taken under the hospitable roof of the Catholic laity of this noble metropolis of our country, soon perhaps of mankind.

"Our Catholic colleges have long organized, each one more or less thoroughly, their graduates as alumni associations, and there can be no question of the good accomplished in our day by these groups. Nevertheless, they have been, by and large, isolated and without any close correlation. Their interests were mostly local, and their activities mostly social, recreational, or beneficial. Their range of visibility was often low, when they did not comingle, so to speak, with the horizon. On the other hand they represented, broadly speaking, the results of our Catholic higher education. They were its fruit and flower, and in their ranks were to be found most of the outstanding Catholic figures of the past and the present. Our Catholic higher education has been necessarily of slow and uneven growth, given the number and intensity of other religious and ecclesiastical interests. It has, however, overcome some of its handicaps. The time seems therefore propitious for drawing together the many healthy units of its power, and for combining their vigor and good will in such a manner as will obtain the best results from so much generous devotion, so many labors and sacrifices, so much high idealism, on the part of our colleges, teachers, students, parents, benefactors, friends, all the elements that make up these beneficent centers of spiritual, intellectual and social life and warmth.

"It is quite unnecessary, of course, to say here and now that the Catholic Church has never committed her cause and her interests to learned men as such, to any intelligentsia, however cultivated and influential. It was in other ways that she earned originally her right to life and action, in spite of secular philosophy, letters, sciences, and all the mental splendor of the Greco-Roman world.

"We may be yet some distance from a Catholic academy of moral and political sciences, but many of the far reaching questions that it could treat with much authority would often find place in the meetings of this national association. Our Catholic principles and convictions, our fairly accurate views and our valuable secular experiences will command a hearing and often a sympathetic one.

"Somewhat similar general associations exist among the Catholic youth of France, Germany and Italy and their influence is a salutary one. I know personally that Our Holy Father Pius XI. is most anxious to see all Catholic universities and colleges in the world drawn into closer relations with one another. This would mean naturally, closer relations of our collective college youth with the Holy See the divinely appointed source of religious truth and the wise guardian and protector of peoples and nations when the political world was yet young and weak. The great writings of Leo XIII. would alone furnish abundant matter for a century of public meetings, not to speak of the almost daily output of instruction, guidance and admonition that comes from the Holy See, and could nowhere be more quickly assimilated than through the activities of such an association.

"Our Catholic principles concerning the moral, social, and political life of mankind are not always understood or appreciated outside of our own body. This national association could act as a kind of clearing-house of those teachings, that have withstood the ravages of time and much hostility, public and private, but are set on the bed-rock of human nature and that gross common sense which is the fruit of long and varied experience. Who can tell the Church anything new about the nature of man, about society or the ways of this world, about life itself, or about reason, those two sharp lines that differentiate us from the earth we stand on and the beasts that serve us. No teacher has yet appeared who can expound with an equal authority, the nature, values, uses, yea, the instructive history of these great basic ideas.

At the conclusion of the convention the following were elected as officers of the new organization:

The following were elected to fill the various offices: President, Edward S. Dore, St. Francis Xavier; first vice-president, John J. Fitzgerald, Manhattan; second vice-president, John C. Kelly, Villanova; third vice-president, Vincent L. Toomey, Catholic University of America; secretary, Hugh ODonnell, Notre Dame; assistant secretary, Phineas Vize, Villanova; treasurer, Cletus Keating, Mount St. Mary's.

Trustees: Victor J. Dowling, Manhattan; William P. McPhee, Notre Dame; John A. Matthews, Seton Hall; James Stewart, Gonzaga University, Spokane; Dr. Attilo H. Giannini, St. Ignatius College, San Francisco; Wil-

liam E. Grimes, St. John's, Brooklyn; Thomas H. Dowd, Holy Cross; Charles A. Birmingham, Boston College; George F. Palmer, Jr., St. Francis College. Brooklyn; William H. Postner, St. Vincent's College; Lester A. O'Keefe, St. Louis University; William J. O'Shea, Fordham University; Justin P. McCarthy, Providence College; William Duggan, Cathedral College; Martin Conboy, Georgetown University; Danis R. O'Brien, St. Francis Xavier; Dr. M. D. Touart, Springhill College, Ala.; William F. X. Geoghan, St. Joseph's, Philadelphia.

"Religious Ethnology Week" held during October at the Catholic University of Milan, is regarded as one of the most important scientific gatherings of the new year.

Father Schmidt, S.V.D., the eminent ethnologist, dealt a rude blow to the "Feudian Theory," and with pleasant irony labeled the Viennese a dealer in phantasms which scientific facts dispel. Research among primitive tribes disproves his exaggerated sex speculations utterly, he said.

Contrary to the theory now widely held, the priest-scientist asserted, actual investigation shows that the union of morals with religion is very close among the most primitive peoples. In the most ancient tribes, he said, there are found very simple moral ideas, but ideas which are definite and elevated. There is an identical conception of fundamental principles in all peoples and through all phases of their development, he added. It is in observance of moral laws that the tribes differ. At the same time, the most backward tribes are more highly developed in certain religious beliefs than the most advanced of peoples.

Tracing the cultural development of ancient civilizations and examining their geographical locations, intermixtures and resurgences, Father Schmidt considered the pygmies in particular. Purity and family institutions among these people are on a very high plane, he said:

The Religious Ethnology Week was another striking evidence of the Catholic Church's deep interest and leadership in scientific fields. Of world-wide scope and purely Catholic, it counts among its scientist-members many priests, notably from the mission fields. They come from all parts of the globe. To such eminence has the gathering attained that secular ethnological journals give it prominent place. The researches and studies that it records annually have been of immense importance to the science generally. This is the fourth week to be held. Cardinal Mercier and the University of Louvain were among its first and most ardent patrons.

This year a particular significance was lent the Week by virtue of the Vatican Missionary Exhibit. At this Exhibit are gathered data of the most intense interest to the ethnologist, scientifically collected and arranged. The Exhibit and the Week, then, are complimentary, the one showing forth the valuable ethnological material collected by Catholic scientists, the other giving to the world the thought and the facts evoked therefrom.

Particularly the Catholic scientists who foster and attend the Weeks are

engaged in the ethnological study of the religious, customs and usages of savage and little-known peoples to whom Catholic missionaries penetrate. At the Milan gathering reports were made on researches conducted among such widely varying peoples as the Terra del Fuegans in South America, the Negritos in the Philippines, the Ruandans of Central Africa and the Pygmies of the Island of Malacca.

Addresses were delivered in the course of the Week by eminent scholars of Italy, Germany, Austria, France, Jugoslavia and other countries. Some of the widely diversified subjects were: "The History of Religions in Italy," "Casuality in Primitive Peoples," "The Freud Theory," "The Influence of Economics on the Development of Civilization," "The Malacca Pygmies," "The Terra del Fuegans," "Christianity and Pagan Mysteries," "The Morals of the Semites," "The Bloody and Bloodless Sacrifices of the People of the Altaia Regions," "The Pygmies of Ruanda," "Christian Ideas in Koran and Islam," "The Idea of Redemption in Humanity," "The Unity of Moral Conscience in Humanity" and "Supposed Relations Between the Eucharist and Pagan Mysteries."

Cardinal Tosi, Archbishop of Milan, opened the Week after celebrating the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and Father Gemelli. O.F.M., rector of the Catholic University of Milan, read a warm message of blessing and encouragement from the Holy Father praising the eagerness for study among learned Catholic men. Father Schmidt, who has been the soul of the gathering since it was first instituted, reviewed its history, and a telegram of felicitation was read from the Italian Minister of Education. Recent publications, notably *Comparative Study of Religions*, by Father Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J., and *Peoples and Civilization*, by Father Schmidt, were then discussed.

Father Schmidt, after expressing the gratitude of the scientists to the Holy Father and praising the Vatican Exhibit, announced that the section of the Exhibit prepared by two secretaries of the Week will not be dispersed, but will constitute an ethnological museum in Rome at the side of the mission museum.

Father de la Boullaye in an address declared there has been a general reaction against the arbitrary attitude of the evolutionists, and urged the employment of historical criticism in ethnological research.

Cardinal Ragonesi presided at the final session. Father Schmidt suggested that National Religious Ethnology Weeks be instituted in all countries. As the meeting closed, the scientists voted to make Father Schmidt president, instead of secretary-general, the title he has held since his able and vigorous labors helped bring the Week into existence. The next international Week will be held in 1928.

Latin-American statesmanship was held up by President Coolidge as a model to those interested in promoting international peace, in his address at the recent unveiling of the statue of General Jose de San Martin in Washington. The statue was presented to the United States by the Argentine Republic as a memorial to the revolutionary hero of the Argentine, Peru and Chile. Simultaneously with the unveiling here, exercises were

held in Buenos Aires in honor of George Washington. The San Martin statue is one of the few monuments in Washington dedicated to the memory of foreigners who were not connected with the history of the United States.

A Catholic atmosphere at the unveiling—appropriate to the Catholic Faith of the great South American nations—was imparted by the presence of the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, who delivered the invocation. Besides the President and Mrs. Coolidge, those present included members of the Cabinet, representatives of nearly every embassy and legation here, and high military and naval officials.

"To the scholarly statesmanship of the Latin-American nations," President Coolidge declared, "the world owes a debt which it has been too tardy in acknowledging. The truth is that they have demonstrated a peculiar genius in the realm of international accommodation and accord. The high and humane doctrines of international relationship which were expounded by such men as Calvo, Drago, Alvare, Bello, Ruy Barbosa, Rio Branco, and a long list of others are now recognized universally. The record of arbitrations, mediations and adjudications among the Latin-American countries constitutes one of the fairest pages in a century's story of mankind's effort to eliminate the causes of war. Among their international treaties we will find the models of effective covenants for the limitation of armament and the prevention of strife in arms."

"It was no mere accident or coincidence that saved the countries of South America from a far more intimate and disastrous connection with the recent world convulsion," the President said, "Whoever has given even casual consideration to the past century's evolution of international relationships in that continent must recognize that not only its aspirations but its practical working processes for dealing with difficult issues between nations have steadily tended toward the insuring of peace. They have looked to the substitution of reason for force. They have repeatedly recognized, in the most practical fashion and difficult circumstances, that even issues of vital interest to the national welfare may be determined to the advantage of all concerned without resort to hostilities."

The President placed a wreath on the monument after it had been unveiled by the withdrawal of United States and Argentine flags which had covered it. A military parade the participants in which saluted the monument of the South American hero, concluded the program. President Coolidge withdrew before the parade so that the military honors could be rendered exclusively to San Martin, which would have been impossible with the Commander-in-Chief present.

Bishop Shahan's Invocation.

In the invocation, Bishop Shahan asked for divine assistance in the preservation of peace and good-will among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere as follows:

Look down benignly, we beseech Thee, O Heavenly Father, on this gathering of Thy children! They represent many peoples and nations of Thy New World, in particular two of the oldest, largest, most influential. As such they recognize in Thee the holy source of that justice and peace, that good-will and charity, which they desire to see deeply graven, not alone in their own hearts, but in the hearts also of all the nations of the world.

In Thy presence, O Lord, each of these great peoples will cherish henceforth a public pledge of amity and esteem, of mutual devotion to freedom, righteous living and the common welfare. Deign, O Lord, to bless this noble and beautiful symbol which rises, altar-like, before Thee, and exhibits to all mankind in imperishable bronze the features of an illustrious citizen in whose life civic courage, self-sacrifice and faith in freedom shone ever brightly, and who reproduced beneath the Southern Cross the virtues of the Great Founder of our own Republic.

Even as this statue kindles forever the memories of the struggles and hardships through which a brave and generous nation secured its independence, so may it forever strengthen those ties of friendship, sympathy, and mutual comprehension which are at all times the best guarantors of peace and progress.

Make easy and broad, O Lord, the Way of Peace between these great and strong peoples, to the end that prosperity and happiness may ever flourish on its borders, and the citizens of both republics may confirm by their example and their spirit that perpetual concord for which Thy children pray today so fervently, in the hope that our civilization may not decline in content, purpose or spirit, may not one day fall to these low levels of public and private life from which Thou, O Lord, hast drawn us upward into the light of Thy countenance and the joy of Thy Heavenly love. Amen.

The Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, Bishop of the Episcopalian diocese of Washington, pronounced the benediction.

The Bourguignonne Association, a body of French Catholic savants, and one of the most active of its kind in France, has decided upon the subject which will predominate in its great Congress of 1927, to be held at Dijon: "St. Bernard and His Times."

The Association invites all its adherents, universities, Catholic institutes and the representatives of religious teaching Orders, to participate in this Congress. Justly, it asserts that "this subject as one of those which occupied a high place in the story of Europe during the twelfth century. It embraces a study of religious, philosophic, artistic and scientific problems of this admirable epoch."

The illustrious Founder of the flourishing Abbey of Clairvaux, preacher of the Second Crusade, is not only in reality a great figure among his countrymen. He is, without doubt, as all historians recognize, the most powerful figure of his century.

It was this century that expanded in a remarkable reflowering of mo-

nasticism, which was the first great renaissance of Greco-Roman civilization. Veritable battalions of monks, remarkable for virtue and learning, made Cluny, Citeaux, Clairvaux and many other monasteries within the confines of Christian Europe, illustrious.

It is good, says the *Nouvelle Religieuses*, commenting on the notice sent forth by this French Association of savants, "that a great Congress of savants is to show forth to the world the spiritual grandeur of the twelfth century."

How an apparently trifling discovery made during the routine of parochial duties led to the remarkable archeological revelations concerning the early Christian times of Northern Africa was related by Father Delattre of the "White Fathers," who was in Rome recently with a Holy Year pilgrimage. When the pilgrimage of which he was a member was received in audience by the Pope the Sovereign Pontiff took the occasion to praise Father Delattre in public for his remarkable scientific achievements.

Going back to a time fifty years ago when he was a young priest working in Northern Africa under the direction of the famous Cardinal Lavigerie, then a Monsignor, Father Delattre told his story of the insignificant beginning of the great discoveries which have attracted world-wide attention. One day, he said, while he was crossing a field to visit a sick parishoner he noticed a stone fragment bearing the Latin letters "Euge * * * ." While he was examining the fragment one of the Arab children accompanying said:

"Father, if you like these stones there are a lot of them in this field."

The priest instructed the children to collect all of the stones they could find and then continued on his way. Returning when the sick call was completed he found that the children had collected fourteen fragments, all bearing phrases indicating that they came from an early Christian cemetery; such phrases as "in pace," "fidelis," etc.

Further investigation showed him that the entire field was strewn with similar stones and in a few days he had collected 1,400 fragments, all lying about on the surface of the ground. Monsignor Lavigerie's attention was called to these finds and he and Father Delattre decided that the site must be that of a Christian cemetery of the first centuries. Monsignor Lavigerie authorized Father Delattre to lease the field and begin regular excavations and research.

Bases of pillars and a semi-circular wall soon came to light and these finds were brought to the attention of the famous Archeologist Giovanni Battista di Rossi, who declared the excavators had found the site of a great Christian basilica. Encouraged, they continued their excavations and soon had uncovered the entire outline of the ancient church, 66 meters long, 45 meters wide, and with nine naves divided by eight rows of columns.

It was of the type of architecture found in many Mohammedan mosques in Northern Africa and Spain—in fact it is from early basilicas such as this that the Arabs copied their mosques. Altogether, about 20,000 fragments of the basilica were uncovered, all bearing inscriptions of one kind or an-

other, but, strange to say, the name of the basilica itself has never been determined. One theory is that it was called the "House of Charity," based on the modern name of the district "Damous-el-Karitea," which some believe to be a corruption of the Latin "Domus Charitatis." The theory is not, however, generally accepted.

It was in another field nearby that the finding of similar fragments led to the excavation of the ruins of the so-called "Basilica Majorum," in which St. Augustine preached and where were found the tombs of SS. Perpetua and Felicita, St. Saturus, St. Saturninus, St. Revocatus, and St. Secundulus, together with inscriptions telling of their martyrdoms.

Still another basilica has been brought to light in this territory. It was a large edifice near the seashore with seven naves, an atrium, and funeral chambers. It is believed to have stood near the place from which St. Augustine embarked for Italy, leaving his pious mother, St. Monica, mourning. From this belief has originated the name given to the reconstructed edifice, "St. Monica's Tears."

Father Delattre's discoveries have brought him world-wide recognition as a scientist and many honors have been bestowed upon him. The French Government has made him a Chevalier and an officer in the Legion of Honor and his fellow scientists have made him a member of the Institute of France. His discoveries are not limited to Carthage nor to evidences of Christian civilization only.

He has also found valuable traces of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Hebrew, Roman, and Punic, antiquities. Among the Punic monuments are four sarcophagi one of which, colored and of extraordinary beauty, is that of a pagan priest of Carthage. He has also found a cemetery dedicated to the priests, priestesses and magistrates of Carthage and the ruins of an ampitheatre, now being uncovered, will, it is expected, yield further valuable discoveries.

One of the notable results of the excavations in Northern Africa, in so far as they relate to early Christian times, is the light they throw upon the devotion to the Blessed Virgin held by the Christians of those days. The image of Mary and invocations to her appear frequently. She is appealed to sometimes with the classic invocation, "Sancta Maria adjuva nos," and sometimes with the Greek title of Mother of God, "Teotoke." One of the finest monuments uncovered is a marble bas relief of the fourth century showing the Virgin and Child.

Father Delattre's visit to Rome has served to call attention to the approaching celebration of the centenary of the birth of Cardinal Lavigerie. The Pope will write a letter commemorating that event, it has been announced. The subject of the excavations in Northern Africa has attracted considerable attention among Americans, inasmuch as the research work has been very largely financed from that country through the efforts of Count de Prorok and others.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Growth of the United States. By Ralph Volney Harlow. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1925. Pp. xv + 862.

Professor Harlow has written a text book which furthers the cause of humanizing the teaching of history in the colleges. Instructors will, as the author hopes, not have to blush when they ask their students to buy the book even though it is costly. Messrs. Holt & Co. are not exorbitant in their demand, for, apart from its content, the volume is admirably made up.

The book is intended for the undergraduate whose cogitations in the classroom are "sometimes unproductive of results; in a more natural environment they often reveal the power of shrewd, though unregenerate, analysis" (p. iii). The average collegian is interested in human beings. He should be induced to become interested also in humanity. A good text will help him to see the several groups into which humanity is divided as well as the individuals belonging to the groups, the forest as well as the trees. The individual may never be lost sight of, for interest in the individual is in itself good, the source of much pleasure, and the foundation of a proper understanding of the group of which he is an integral part. Professor Harlow's text not only conforms with these canons of the teaching science, but does so naturally. It is not didactic. Its style is lively, though not always elegant. He has a fondness for the *"As for..... they....."* *construction,* and uses *"indented"* for *"indentured"* when referring to the immigrant white laborers of the colonial era.

Some errors have crept into the work. Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, not in 1496 (p. 11). Did Columbus know that he had not reached the Indies and was he so disgusted by his failure to reach this goal that "he did not take the trouble to attach his name to his discovery?" (p. 13). The Spaniards did more than explore the country north of Florida, as we know from the records of the Georgia missions (p. 16). Professor Harlow does, however, deal justly with the Spaniards and with their relations with the English (pp. 17-21). The story of Vir-

ginian beginnings might have been strengthened by calling the colonists what they were, servants of the company, instead of beginning his comments about the government with the remark that there was no semblance of self-government in the first charter. If the colonists were servants, and they were, why should they have been granted self-government? Again, why not call Sandys a Puritan, as well as a radical? Puritan machinations in the Virginia Company's affairs are not sufficiently emphasized. Real pleasure and satisfaction is ours on page 66. Charles II is appreciated for his English and American policies as he has seldom been appreciated.

"Although Charles II did not personally act as proprietor in any one of these colonies, he left an enduring mark upon them and upon several others. Both in quantity and in quality his influence upon America stands high. Ample evidence of the quantity is to be found in the range of his interests, which extended from Hudson Bay to the Bermudas. As for quality, in the continental colonies which he chartered, the principles of representative government and religious toleration were specifically provided for, and he did more in weaving them into the fabric of American life than did the majority of the colonial promoters. Even in Massachusetts, where he finally ordered the abrogation of the original charter, he took that action partly on the ground that the authorities there had repeatedly refused his recommendations to broaden the franchise and to grant toleration. Charles II was infinitely more liberal than any of the school of John Winthrop. Because of the apparent inconsistency in the King's English and American policies, the suggestion has been made that in granting the charters, he was not aware of what he was doing. But he was always thoroughly alive to what he was doing in England. It is therefore hardly reasonable to assume that all of his decisions with reference to America were made when he was intoxicated.

"The key to Charles II's colonial policy is to be found, not in his moments of drunkenness, but in a juxtaposition of both his English and his American measures. In his Declaration of Breda, he proclaimed a doctrine of liberalism far beyond anything his Cavalier Parliament would approve. His hopes of

granting religious toleration in England were blocked first by the Clarendon Code, and, after his ill-fated Declaration of Indulgence, by the Test Act. In England, Parliament could force him into a path contrary to his desires, but in America he could plot his own course. There he granted that toleration which Parliament had made impossible in England, and at the same time he provided for representative government.

"In following this liberal bent, the king went directly against the recommendations of his advisers. In 1661, the Council for Foreign Plantations urged him to take the management of all the existing proprietary governments into his own hands, and to create no new ones in the future. Instead of following the suggestion, between 1660 and 1670 Charles granted six new charters, in addition to the one for the Hudson Bay Company" (pp. 66-67).

The revocation of the Massachusetts charter in 1684 by Charles II is justified; if the king's orders had been observed, that colony would have been so far as democracy and liberalism are concerned a far more congenial region in which to live than it was for many generations.

The treatment, moreover, of the story of the American Revolution is refreshing. Our revolt from England is treated as a revolution with revolutionists as its leaders, real plots, and everything. Calhoun, too, no longer appears as a destroyer of the Union; he proposed nullification to save the Union from destruction. His successors used the doctrines he expounded in the "thirties" to disrupt the nation, but not without justification. The more-righteous-than-God ultra-Abolutionists, (we might call them "100% Americans"), were ignorant of the social forces with which they tampered. Professor Harlow enlists Keller's Essay on "Societal Evolution" in his effort to make the point. Again we feel justified in quoting Prof. Harlow (Keller).

"If an ignoramus plays about in a chemical laboratory, we keep our distance, for we expect trouble as a result of ignorance of chemical substances and laws. Knowledge of the experimenter's good intentions or orthodoxy does not reassure us at all. But we easily permit the uninformed meddler to prowl about the structure of society, poking and tinkering, apparently in the belief that, provided his intentions are good, nothing but

human weal can result. We are bound to learn, sometime, that powerful forces are at work within the societal range, and that ignorant tampering is even more dangerous here than elsewhere because so many more people have to endure the consequences" (p. 394). Wade, Chase, Sumner, and Seward grew up in the years of this intellectual frenzy and showed by their courses before and after the war that they had not been uninfluenced by it. In the analysis of antebellum movements we think Professor Harlow might have made more of the southern continental railroad which Jefferson Davis proposed to build.

The text is aptly illustrated by quotations that are of human interest. Roosevelt's weaknesses are well illustrated. He had the "habit of idolizing his own theories and principles" (p. 704). The relations of Bryan and Wilson before the campaign of 1912 are described in a pointed manner. "Bryan," writes Professor Harlow, "was not a candidate in 1912, but he still had such a hold upon his party that he was in a position to give or to withhold the nomination." "As a reformer Wilson might well be expected to meet with Bryan's approval, and Colonel House tried to bring the two men together. Plans were all made for a love feast at the annual Jackson Day dinner. At that point, Adrian H. Joline, one of Wilson's bitter opponents on the board of Princeton trustees, tried to wreck the whole plan. Two days before the dinner, he published a letter written by Wilson in 1907, expressing the pious wish that 'somehow we may be able to knock Mr. Bryan into a cocked hat.' But Mr. Bryan had a forgiving disposition, and he greeted Governor Wilson with unusual enthusiasm" (p. 741). The book ends with the 1924 election in full tilt. Governor Smith, of New York, is given a tribute. "Smith was a product of New York's East Side, who had risen to fame by way of Tammany Hall. But he was no ordinary Tammany man. On the contrary he had a reputation for absolute integrity, and his record as a governor was not only flawless but enviably brilliant. Tremendously popular in Democratic circles throughout the Northeast, he labored under the handicap —in Southern and Western eyes—of being a Roman Catholic" (p. 820).

We close the book in a cheerful mood. There is not one dull

page in it. Happy the undergraduate whose instructor adopts Professor Harlow's text!

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

War Government of the British Dominions. By Arthur Berriedale Keith. *Economic and Social History of the World War* (British Series). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1921. Pp. xvi + 354.

The Great War disarranged the lives of men in general and of peace agencies in particular. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1914 gave up the well-considered and promising program adopted at Berne in 1911, and undertook "to measure the economic cost of the war and the displacement in the process of civilization" in a series of monographs entitled, *The Economic and Social History of the World War.* The volume under review, one of the British Series, necessarily begins with a study of the relations existing between the Imperial government and the Dominions—Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland—in consequence of the several conferences that met before and during the war. In these conferences the idea of an England dominant over the colonies was superseded by the idea of an England whose sovereign was the symbol of a unity ultimately based on sentiment. The Dominions had become not only autonomous, but in many respects the equals of the metropolis. This character determined their conduct with respect to the great war. In his monograph the author concerns himself with political rather than with economic and social matters and "even in the case of political issues selects only those items which are of chief practical importance." His work seems, therefore, out of place in a series that is primarily devoted to the economic and social aspects of the war. This objection is readily met. Economic and social factors had made the Dominions autonomous, and this autonomy affected their economic and social courses during the war. These courses are adequately surveyed in the book as they worked out in the Dominions themselves and in the aid which the Dominions gave the metropolis in its war against Germany.

Of even greater importance is this selection of political facts for an understanding of the part which the Dominions took in the settlement of the world's affairs when peace came. The Dominions were given a voice in the peace conferences, representation in the League of Nations, diplomatic agents in foreign capitals, and mandates. The Dominions had, indeed, become nations, and Great Britain, a Federation of Nations. A colonial revolution had been completed that was extensively important. Some of the questions that troubled us in *ante-bellum* days are beginning to trouble England. General Smuts declared that the Parliament of the Union of South Africa was supreme in the Union; that the Parliament in London had no legislative authority in South Africa except such as the South African parliament permitted it to exercise. Must England at last wrestle with the monster, Secession? Prof. Keith has, then, made a contribution to the Carnegie History that is not only prefatory to the volumes in its British series, but also valuable for an understanding of how the Great War has hastened the evolution of a new United States of Britain.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Security Against War. By Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany, collaborator. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1924. 2 Vols. Pp. xii + 435, 485.

The world has been six years rehabilitating itself under the Peace Treaties, and the authors examine the record of its accomplishments with a view to determining how much nearer men are to a lasting peace. There is a description of the peace machinery, the League of Nations; a history of the disputes that have arisen and of the use that has been made of the peace machinery in settling them; an investigation of the evolution and record of the Permanent Court of International Justice; and an analysis of proposals that have been made in the hope that there will be peace in the future.

The League of Nations is only one of three agencies which the Great Powers have at their disposal to settle peacefully the world's affairs according to their interests; the Supreme Council, later merged into the Conference of Ambassadors, which executes their will; the Reparations Commission; and the League

of Nations. The latter brings to the assistance of the Great Powers "the moral and sentimental forces of the world, immensely stimulated by the war" and is "imperatively necessary" because "the Peace Treaties, being in reality punitive measures carrying the seeds of future wars, required a moral façade to divert attention from wholly material and practical instruments" (p. 85).

The history of the disputes that have arisen shows how the peace machinery has been used by the Great Powers in order to gain their ends. The chapters in this section of the work are concluded by summary commentaries on their contents. Secret machinations, double-dealing, selfishness, the ignoring of both the letter and the spirit of the Treaties, are only a few of the characteristics of the settlements that ended these disputes by, not the assembly of the League of Nations, but by the agencies directly controlled by the Great Powers. Even the Permanent Court of International Justice has had its teeth drawn by these Great Powers. The authors conclude that though Europe is one in its abhorrence of war, it is far from being one in respect to how war may be abolished. The spirit again is willing but the flesh is weak.

We shall hear little of this work. It is too frank in its criticisms of the policies pursued by the Great Powers, in the course of the last six years, but its value to the student who would see the world as it is cannot be questioned. We cannot be disbelievers of the story for the authors have carefully documented every statement. Their conclusions are hopelessly and bitterly logical. They will not have to subject their work to the serious revisions which many other books on the period will presently need in order to escape permanent oblivion.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

An Introduction to Church History. By Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. St. Louis, Mo., and London: B. Herder Book Co. Pp. vii + 350.

The author rather modestly designates this valuable work "an outline for the use of beginners in the field [of historical method]," and says that "it contains hardly more than a glimpse into what might be given on the subject." Let us say candidly

the volume is neither "an outline" nor is it a mere "glimpse" but it is a work of exceptional value and in compiling it Dr. Guilday has rendered great service not only to church history, but to the whole Catholic cause.

It has seven very meaty chapters, each of which is in fact a monograph which might be printed separately. There is, however a logical nexus binding the different chapters, the first of which discusses "The Meaning of Church History." This chapter undoubtedly will, at least certain sections of it, arouse controversy on the part of writers on history "who refuse to recognize the spirituality of the soul, its immortality, and the divine revelation given to ensure its destiny, at the end of life's journey" (p. 12).

"The Scope of Church History" is the subject matter of the second chapter and herein is stated very lucidly the difficulty which besets the historian "since his rôle is primarily not that of the theologian nor that of the apologist" (p. 49). Following the statement that "the epic grandeur of the Church unfolds itself like a mighty panorama beyond the power of any genius to describe with all its infinitely varied details" is a lengthy corroborative citation from Bishop Shahan's *Study of Church History* which is as graphic as it is comprehensive: "The influences of the Church vary in extent and intensity—circumstances of a political or social character widen or narrow her field of action. The temperaments of peoples and the preoccupations of epochs, moral degradation, suspicion and prejudice, mental and material transformations of the world of humankind—a multitude of considerations affect her action within and without. In the person of an Innocent the Third she might usurp the poet's word: *Nihil humani a me alienum puto.* And again, she might find herself relegated to the narrowest margin of action and influence, the divine ichor in her veins barely flowing, an outlaw in the eyes of societies that she had created and made great. Then, too, her action is not always visible, measurable at first glance, so deep and wide wander the roots of spiritual forces, so subtle and unseizable are the impulses of the Holy Spirit" (pp. 51-52).

Chapter third appraises the "Value of Church History" and it is pronounced "invaluable as a school of experience and judgment, and one of the greatest teachers of truth." Its higher

educational value is summed up in the following result: (a) An admiration for the Church that is full of childlike love and loyalty: (b) An assurance of mind that is undismayed, however grevious the accusations brought against (her); and (c) The possession of a clue to the right understanding of problems connected with the Church in the present day." We have a criticism to offer here to the effect that the concluding paragraph of the chapter does not fit in with what precedes and the chapter itself is rather overladen with citations from authors whom personally we do not regard as "historians," though they have a claim to a niche in the temple of literary fame.

Chapter fourth leads us into the domain of the actual method of historical studies generally, with, of course, much emphasis on the study of church history. The earlier pages of the chapter are largely sign posts indicating the way to the inner sanctuary. There are two very illuminating illustrations of Method, one, strange to say from the pages of Holy Writ, St. Luke's *Acts of the Apostles*, the other, the *Church History* of Eusebius. These are set forth to confirm Dr. Guilday's statement: "The student of ecclesiastical history will have no difficulty in discovering in every age of the Church, historians whose knowledge of historical research and of historical criticism must be given equal rank with that of the foremost scholars in the field to-day" (p. 140). Notwithstanding McGiffert's testimony (p. 141) as to the place of Eusebius many who worship at the shrine of von Ranke will no doubt dissent. There is a lengthy excerpt from Collins' *Study of Ecclesiastical History* as to the development of the historical "hobby," followed by inspiring pages which give us brief biographies of Venerable Bede, Muratori, Lingard, and Janssen. Briefly all this means a plea for *specialization* which, to the average student of ecclesiastical history ofttimes spells disillusionment and discouragement. What follows in this chapter is largely didactic, practical indeed, but rather disturbing to the ordinary student of ecclesiastical history such as our seminaries unfortunately send forth without compunction to face issues which to-day are paramount in this country as elsewhere. We commend to those responsible for the failure of our seminary students to acquire the knowledge which, to us seems essential, the following paragraph: "The..class..really deserv-

ing the name of historical students consists of all those who have sufficient knowledge of the political history of the past and of church history in general to begin a more detailed line of work. To these Abbé Blanc (in his *Cours d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*) recommends a serious study on the following plan: a review of the state of the world before the coming of Christ; a thorough knowledge of the history of the Jews; a brief survey of the history of the Old and New Testament; the mastery of one good volume on the Roman Empire to the year 300, and then a careful reading of a general history of the Church such as Rohrbacher, Alzog, Hergenröther, or Mourret. After this is finished, each period should be taken up separately..... If the student is in doubt which period to make his special field, Blanc recommends the first six centuries as meriting his principal attention. Side-by-side with all this reading should go a study of the political and social condition of the times" (pp. 168-69).

"The Formation of the Ecclesiastical Historian" is discussed in the fifth chapter and it stresses the dictum that "without methodic training in the science of history, the student must remain an *amateur*—and *amateurs* have been the bane of church history since the Church began" (p. 176). The chapter embodies Dr. Guilday's lectures on Historical Method which are now so well-known to those who have been members of his seminars for the past decade. Many of these have been summarized in earlier issues of the *Catholic Historical Review*. The chapter concludes very fittingly with a citation from the letter of Leo XIII on historical studies, addressed to Cardinals de Luca, Pitra, and Hergenröther:..... "It is indeed hard to conceive how much harm may be done by the subservience of history to party ends and to the ambition of individuals. For it becomes, not the guide of life, nor the light of truth, as the ancients have rightly declared it ought to be, but the accomplice of vice and the agent of corruption, especially for the young, whose minds it will fill with unsound opinions, and whose hearts it will turn away from virtue and modesty..... Let bare assertions be replaced by the fruits of painful and patient research, judgments rashly made, by the outcome of serious study, and frivolous opinions, by the criticism of wisdom. Strenuous efforts should be made to refute all falsehoods and untrue statements by

ascending to the fountain-heads of information..... Arbitrary opinion must give way before solid arguments; truth in spite of persistent opposition must triumph in the end; it may be darkened for the moment; never can it be extinguished."

The sixth chapter is the Presidential Address before the Catholic Historical Society, of Philadelphia, delivered by Dr. Guilday, in December 1924. As it is necessarily a broad survey of the field of history there are found here many repetitions of statements made in the earlier chapters. There is a note in this address that sounds threnodic: "The truth is that future historians of general ecclesiastical history in the United States will find very little worthy of his subject written up to the present. Ecclesiastical history as a science distinct from the *Character-bildung* of the aspirants to the Catholic ministry, has not yet risen above the level of mediocrity in our country. The teaching of church history in Catholic colleges, seminaries and religious novitiates is below the standards of the much-confused methods in use in non-sectarian schools and is mostly confined to the half-hearted memorizing of a text-book whose author or compiler has little precise knowledge of those peculiar apologetic problems in history which constitute our inheritance from Great Britain. Special training for teachers of history in American higher schools is hardly more than a generation old. Special training for teachers of church history in our religious houses and seminaries has only just begun" (pp. 281-82).

The final chapter discusses "The Literature of Church History" and aims simply "to indicate to the student the principal 'pathfinders' for his researches." These pathfinders are numerically bewildering: they are found under the special headings *repertoires, didactic works,* and *periodicals,* most of which are of foreign origin, but available in the larger educational centers in this country. It is no doubt an oversight on the part of the author to omit one of the most valuable contributions to ecclesiastical bibliography found in recent issues of *The Harvard Theological Review.* The concluding pages of this section may possibly be construed as discouraging to Catholic students of church history. Yet, there is some comfort in this: "Only to few is given the gift to write history as it should be written, but

to many is given the gift of preparing the way for the universal genius church history needs."

Let us hope that Dr. Guilday's erudite compilation will meet with the recognition and attain the success which it deserves. In the hands of a competent teacher it should be invaluable. From the bibliographical standpoint it is an attractive volume, of a desirable format; and a comprehensive index makes its contents readily available to the serious student of history. There are some misprints; we have located a few that are unimportant (pp. 187, 275, 279, 298, 306). On page 277, however, there is a slip that needs rectification.

P. W. B.

Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science. By Charles Homer Haskins. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. xiv + 411.

An announcement in our last issue indicates a veritable renaissance of interest in mediaevalism, and American scholars are now offering intriguing contributions to the literature of one of the most alluring periods of human history. Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science,* Osborn Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind,* and *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages,* Ralph Adams Cram's *Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh,* and the appearance of *Speculum* are compelling evidence of the trend of historical scholarship in the United States at the present time. Harvard University has been specially identified with this great movement, and Professor Haskins is unquestionably a foremost authority on the history of mediaeval thought, one of our greatest students of the Middle Ages. He has revealed to us the immensity of the material hidden in the writings of mediaeval scholars in several erudite contributions; he has pointed us the way leading to the elucidation of old problems; opened up new views on the extent of mediaeval learning and the development of mediaeval studies. Says an English writer on mediaevalism: "It will always be worth while, before accepting a fact in the history of mediaeval thought, to see what Professor Haskins has to say about it."

In *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science,* the author

approaches the subject from the viewpoint of the general history of civilization in the Middle Ages and presents a fresh contribution to the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the influence of Eastern culture upon the West. He does not aim to tell a consecutive story; his purpose is to advance knowledge at critical points. The work abounds in unobtrusive criticism of the conclusions of other distinguished scholars whose views and interpretations he sifts and checks, adding the results of his own investigations without the faintest suggestion of self-assertiveness. He does not indulge in speculations, nor does he attempt generalizations where the grounds are insecure.

He states that this volume "is designed in the first instance as a contribution to the history of the Mediaeval Renaissance and the influence of Eastern cutlture upon the West." It divides itself naturally into four larger sections. The first deals with the transmission of the science of the Arabs to Western Europe through the Spanish peninsula. We are warned, however, that "Spain was not the only route by which Arabic science reached the West" though the "Arabs of Spain were the principal source of the new learning for western Europe" (p. 5). There is little evidence that Christian Spain down to the twelfth century had much to do with the diffusion of Saracen learning. "Nevertheless it is important to note that the most learned man of the tenth century, Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Sylvester II, certainly visited the county of Barcelona in his youth and studied mathematics there under Atto, bishop of Vich. There is no certain evidence that he penetrated farther into the Peninsula; but later, in 984, we find him sending Miro Bonusfilius, bishop of Gerona, for the treatise of a certain Joseph the Wise, on multiplication and division." It seems agreed, however, that "there is no direct influence of Arabian mathematics in Gerbert's writings" (p. 9).

Following we have the story of one of the most interesting and significant figures in mediaeval science—Adelard of Bath. His is "the greatest name in English science before Robert Grossetete and Roger Bacon." This chapter leads directly to the part played by the crusades in the intellectual movement of the thirteenth century.

The second section deals with "The Greek Element in the Re-

naissance of Twelfth Century." This is sometimes called a "Roman Renaissance" as it consisted in part of a revival of the Latin classics and the Roman law, in part of a rapid widening of the field of knowledge by the introduction of the science and philosophy of the ancient Greeks into western Europe. It was a direct antecedent of the Greek revival of the Quattrocento; and the author states: "The most important meeting-point of Greek and Latin culture in the twelfth century was the Norman kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily" (p. 141). This section is treated at considerable length by a study of the Sicilian and North-Italian translators. Here particularly do we find Professor Haskins at a congenial task as exemplified in his *Norman Institutions* which everybody who has had to deal with feudalism in its many ramifications regards as a most authoritative treatment of this phase of mediaevalism.

This section has an interesting paragraph concerning Robert of Cricklade, prior of St. Frideswide's at Oxford who was the author of a life of Thomas Becket and a compendium of Pliny's *Natural History*, which he dedicates to King Henry II. A deduction from this is of importance to the student of English ecclesiastical history. Robert made visits to Rome and secured "from Adrian IV at the Lateran a detailed confirmation of the possessions of his priory." The concluding pages of this section illustrate the great communication between Sicily and northern Europe and the intellectual intercourse as a result of the relations between Sicily and Anglo-Norman lands. "The northern Normans showed pride in the achievements of their Italian kinsmen, and it is characteristic that the splendor of Rouen and the glory of King Roger form the joint theme of a Latin poem" (p. 185). This poem is printed in the author's *Norman Institutions*, p. 144. "Sicilian scholars have an honorable place in the history of European learning. At a time when Latin Europe was just advancing from the Boethian and pseudo-Boethian manuals to Euclid's elements, they were familiar with geometrical analysis and applied mathematics as presented in the most advanced works of Euclid and in Ptolemy's *Optics*, Proclus and Hero; and they had come into possession of the chief work of ancient astronomy, the *Almagest*..... Theology and ecclesiastical history were not neglected, and a group of New Testament

manuscripts has been traced to Sicilian copyists. The school of Salerno was the leading medical school of Europe" (pp. 190-91).

We are now introduced to the Sicilian Court of the Emperor Frederick II on its scientific side as a meeting-point of the Arabic and Greek currents. He is a subject of perennial interest to the historian. "The riddle of his many-sided personality, his place at the centre of one of the great struggles of European politics, the striking anticipation of more modern ideas and practices in his administration, the brilliant and precocious nature of his Sicilian kingdom, have attracted the attention of two generations of scholars without definite results." (p. 242). Frederick was an outstanding figure in the patronage of scholarship in the Middle Ages, and his patronage was not limited to Christian scholars. His influence was paramount and though long embroiled in political struggles, he devoted much time to the development of university life. He established the University of Naples, as he "needed trained public servants, and he preferred to have them brought up in his own kingdom rather than in Bologna and other Guelfic cities of the North..... No less a person than Thomas Aquinas began his study of natural philosophy at Naples, under an Irish master, one Petrus de Hibernia, who is later found holding a disputation at King Manfred's court" (p. 251).

One of Frederick's chief advisers was Michael Scot. The author puts out of court briefly many conjectures regarding this remarkable personage which James Wood Brown sets forth in *An Enquiry into the Life of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897). "Scot early became a subject of legend, and the small body of fragmentary fact has not yet been winnowed from the mass of traditions" (p. 272). An entire chapter is devoted to this remarkable character, and to the reviewer it seems to be one of the most important sections of Professor Haskin's absorbing book.

To students of English Institutions the chapter on "The Abacus and the Exchequer" is exceptionally valuable. According to R. L. Poole "it was the introduction of this instrument in the form of the Exchequer which made an epoch in the history of the English Treasury."

The volume closes with a lengthy chapter, "A List of Text-Books from the close of the Twelfth Century," and its importance is expressed in the opening sentences: "To the historian of the influence of classical antiquity upon the civilization of the Middle Ages the study of mediaeval text-books yields information of the first importance. It was almost wholly as formulated in a few standard texts that the learning of the ancient world was transmitted to mediaeval times, and the authority of these manuals was so great that a list of those in use in any period affords an accurate index of the extent of its knowledge and the nature of its instruction" (p. 356).

Tempora mutantur! Were we to judge certain modern institutions of learning by the text-books in use (or prescribed?) it were difficult indeed to discover the nature of the instruction afforded. Apparently the only "standard works" now almost universally used have been complied not by scholars but by vendors of pigskin spheres and the paraphernalia of the "gridiron" and the "diamond."

The List furnished by Professor Haskins forms part of a descriptive vocabulary of terms relating to ecclesiastical matters, court life, and learning, which is preserved in a manuscript in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, the authorship of which is a matter of discussion. We fear the List, even if rendered into English, would be unintelligible to most American undergraduate students who are struggling with a Ciceronian oration or an emasculated edition of the Iliad.

Three detailed Indexes—an Index of Manuscripts and Libraries, a Subject Index, and an Index of Proper Names make the contents of *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* available to the student. The reviewer has used this volume with much profit, and it has enabled him as it has doubtless aided others to understand many mediaeval problems which other texts have failed to elucidate. Professor Haskins has done for mediaeval science what Bishop Shahan has done for its cultural side. Both have furnished students of mediaevalism with facilities and equipment such as those of the elder days did not possess.

P. W. B.

Liber Miraculorum Ninivensium Sancti Cornelii Papae. Herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. William Walker Rockwell, Associate Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. Göttingen: Vandenhouck & Ruprecht, 1925.

A glance at the title of this monograph might suggest that we are going to be carried away to the lands of ancient Assyria with its mighty capital of Ninive, and we wonder what Pope St. Cornelius who lived about A. D. 250 may have to do with a city which at his time was destroyed and utterly forgotten. But there was a famous Premonstratensian abbey in a town not far from Brussels, called originally Nieuwenhove, a name which might be translated "Newsbury," and which the people long ago shortened into Ninove. A change of only one letter was needed to make of it Ninive, of biblical fame, and this form was it seems preferably employed in ecclesiastical documents. The abbey of Ninove and its beautiful church, which drew large crowds of pilgrims, was dedicated to Pope St. Cornelius. The *Liber Miraculorum*, reprinted in its original Latin, but with copious critical notes, tells chiefly of the miracles worked, or said to have been worked, at St. Cornelius' shrine. These rather detailed records describe a life of genuine Faith and great confidence in God and the intercession of the Saints, though not all of the miracles are likely to stand the test in a process of beatification or canonization. The book also gives a short account of the origin of the abbey with all its difficulties and the opposition it encountered. There was indeed, besides the living Faith in high and low, also a considerable amount of lawlessness and disregard of property rights. All in all this ancient narrative, which seems to date from about 1250, is an interesting contribution not only to local and provincial church history, but also to the history of general ecclesiastical and secular conditions in Europe.

F. S. B.

Report of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference. Published by the Conference. Washington, D. C.: Capuchin College. Pp. 231.

The average reader (which is a synonym for the ill-informed multitude whose scholarship is suggested by an Algebraic "x")

does not usually link the spiritual sons of the Poverello of Assisi with scholarship, though possibly he may have a hazy notion that in the dim long ago such a person as Roger Bacon, a Friar, was identified with Oxford and its classic history. Many even who have some pretence to learning know little of the scientific and literary side of Franciscanism. To such the volume under review were a very desirable acquisition.

The Franciscan Educational Conference is only rounding out its first lustrum; but it has already done much "to safeguard the principles and to promote the interests of Catholic education." It was organized primarily: (a) To encourage the spirit of mutual helpfulness and coöperation among the Friar educators of the American provinces: (b) To advance by a study the Franciscan educational work in all its departments: (c) To offer means and incentives toward the advancement of learning and the pursuit of literary work among the Friars. It seems to have accomplished all this—and more: it has radiated its influence far beyond the Franciscan horizon, and we all are debtors to the learning and industry of Franciscan workers in the educational field. This is especially true here in Washington where three very progressive Franciscan institutions are grouped around the Catholic University of America vitalizing curricula reminiscent of the Oxford of ye olden time when Robert Grossteste, Thomas of Wales, and Adam Marsh shed lustre upon "The City of Spires, Minarets, and Steeples."

This *Report* is more than the title indicates. It is a very full record of what the ecclesiastical-literary world owes to Franciscanism and offers ample evidence that the Franciscans have never forgotten, throughout their history of seven hundred years, the words of Friar Roger, "that the reform of education must begin with the study of languages," and that the sons of St. Francis laboring in twentieth-century America are striving to approach the ideal proposed by their Seraphic Founder.

By way of parenthesis the reviewer begs to draw attention to the superlative enthusiasm of the good Friars as expressed in the following: "But while the Friars were urged to give [their own] publications all the active support possible, they were advised not to be narrow in their sympathies, but to welcome Franciscan literature *no matter what the source.*" (Italics mine). There is mention of Paul Sabbatier. The latest edition of

the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Romae, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, MDCCCCXXIV) has the ominous notice: SABBATIER, PAUL. *Vie de S. François d'Assise.* Decr. 8 Iun. 1894. Paul Sabbatier is President of the British Society of Franciscan Studies.

The papers and discussions during the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Conference dealt mainly with the language element in education: "Language Studies in the Franciscan Order," Rev. John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap.; "The Science of Language," Fr. Berthold Hartung, O.F.M.; "The Art of Language," Fr. Simon J. Archambault, O.F.M.; "The Teaching of Literature," Fr. Constant Klein, O.M.C.; "Training Our Students and Especially Our Clerics for Literary Activity and Productive Scholarship," Fr. Gabriel McCarthy, O.M.Cap.; "The Franciscan Bibliographical Institute," Fr. John Lenhart, O.M.Cap.

Father Lenhart's contribution is historically very valuable. It is brimfull of details regarding the poetic contributions of the Franciscans of the Middle Ages. Whilst we do not wish to detract in the least from Father Lenhart's labors in the historic field, we are not quite sure that his statements are always sufficiently buttressed by authority. Hymnologists are not agreed as to authorship of either the *Dies Irae* or the *Stabat Mater*, yet Father Lenhart positively states that Thomas of Celano was the author of the former and Jacopone da Todi of the latter. It may be noted that in the discussion that followed Father Lenhart's paper, one of his brethren, Fr. Conrad Reisch, says: "Most probably he [Thomas a Celano] is the author of that impressive poem incorporated into the Requiem Mass, the *Dies Irae.*" These are mere blemishes of course, and such are likely to occur when an enthusiastic scholar such as Father Lenhart is, writes so diffusively on a subject of such absorbing interest. Father Lenhart's exhaustive study is certainly a splendid *esquisse* of the contribution of the Franciscans to linguistic history, ranging from Arabic to Micmac ideograms.

The contents of the remaining papers, with the exception of Fr. Lenhart's second contribution, are distinctly pedagogical in manner and purport; they should prove of great utility to language teachers in our Catholic colleges. In fact, they would, if wisely used, render "formal rhetoric" worthless. Most of

these contributions have been made by experienced teachers who long since have ceased to do what unfortunately many jejune educators are still doing, viz.—to "experiment" with youthful victims of pedagogical silliness.

Father Lenhart's contribution, "The Franciscan Bibliographical Institute" is indeed a learned disquisition on bibliography, but has actually little information regarding Franciscan contributions to this comparatively modern science. He tells us (p. 221) "The Friars Minor....were very slow in adopting the methods and principles of modern bibliography." Under Fr. Lenhart's direction the Franciscan Bibliographical Institute is now at work, and we shall soon be able to note some of its accomplishments. If zeal, enthusiasm, and competency are an earnest of success the new Franciscan activity will give us many valuable contributions to historical science.

P. W. B.

The Catholic Teacher's Companion. By Rev. Felix M. Kirsch, O.M.Cap. Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Dougherty, and Introduction by Rev. George Johnson, Ph.D. New York: Benziger Brothers. Pp. xvi + 747.

A sub-title "A Book of Self-Help and Guidance" indicates the purpose of this attractive volume. Popular in style and lucid in exposition it presents the ideals, aspirations, and sublime vocation of our Teaching Sisterhoods.

At the outset we are disposed to make a criticism; the book is an *embarras de richesses*: it has four district sections, each of which contains ample material for a volume. Part I is devoted to the teacher; her characteristics and calling. It has nineteen lengthy chapters. Part II discusses moral and religious eduction, and comprises ten chapters. Part III treats of intellectual education, with thirteen chapters. Part IV deals with school management and covers the technical processes of the class-room, under fourten headings.

Every chapter is interlarded with quotations "from grave to gay," and filled with citations, some of which might very well be eliminated without marring in any way the value of the book or minimising its appeal. This we regard as the one palpably weak feature of a volume whose erudition is bordering on the

encyclopedic. Naturally, in collating such a huge mass of material, notably of the quotation variety, there is ever the danger of a *lapsus plumae* such as occurs, for example, on page 2 in connection with one of Canon Sheehan's earlier works which, by the way, has been criticized for its pedantry. Again, the juxtaposition of an eminent authority in the pedagogical field and a jejune teacher seems to be rather unfortunate. These blemishes, however, are not sufficiently obtrusive to depreciate the value of the book.

Teaching Sisters will find it a veritable mine of useful knowledge covering every mood and tense of their calling. The author knows the many problems with which Sisters are confronted. His aim is to stimulate among religious teachers that kind of mentality which will aid them to perform the arduous duties without losing their grasp of the higher things and "to seek the things that are above" without losing sight of the daily pedagogical task. He indicates how problems may be solved in the light that the Master has given. He deals a death-blow to what may be termed the disturbing dualism that seems to dissociate work from prayer and re-states in compelling terms the watchword of the religious life, *ora et labora*. He proves conclusively that one must not pamper the intellect and starve the heart, that conscience must not be marooned on the isle of self-deceit. Father Kirsch deserves the abiding gratitude of our Teaching Sisters for this *multum in parvo* of Catholic pedagogical principles and practice.

Catholic teachers generally will find herein a wealth of valuable material on the subject of education in relation to all its phases, theoretical, practical, and personal. It has a carefully prepared and copious index and an extensive bibliography for additional readings and reference. The publishers have spared no pains to make the volume attractive. The format and binding appealingly enhance its appearance.

P. W. B.

Europe Overseas. By James A. Williamson. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. Pp. 144.

The Oxford University Press is doing great service to educators and students by issuing the series of The World's Manuals,

and *Europe Overseas* is one of the most important in the Series to students of international relations. The Series is designed not only to give the student some idea of the landmarks which will guide him, but also to make provision for the large body of general readers who appreciate authoritative and scholarly work presented in terms of human interest in a simple style and within moderate compass.

This book offers a succinct survey of European expansion into the great world beyond its confines and its reaction upon Europe herself. "Had it never taken place [says its initial page], we might be living [in Europe] in rustic simplicity, knowing nothing of industrialism, rapid transport, and applied science in general. These things, although less tangible than the growth of coloured areas upon the map, are not less important in world-history" (p. 5). Discussing the meaning of "colonization" the author says: "The modern Englishman thinks of it primarily as the transference of surplus population to new homes overseas in regions which luckily find themselves under his flag. For the central European the above process spells emigration to an alien flag in North America and hardly appears as colonization at all. The same may be said of Spain and Italy, which send much of their surplus to the Argentine. For all these peoples, and for the Frenchman whose numbers never exceed the accommodation of his own land, the primary meaning of colonization is the acquisition of regions whose soil can produce useful materials and whose natives can render useful services military or otherwise. And this aspect of colonization is of course not negligible in the ideas and policies of the British Empire. There are, then, at the present day, two chief kinds of colonial possession; and for them the French have invented two excellent descriptive terms, *colonies de peuplement* and *colonies d'exploitation*, for which our own language lacks an equivalent."

There is an excellent background to the story of colonization very detailed in the account of another form of expansion prior to colonization, viz.—"the penetration of unknown lands and seas for purposes of commerce."

In chronological order we have brief but compact sections: "The Expansion of Portugal and Spain," "The English, French,

and Dutch, become Oceanic Powers," "The English and Dutch in the East," "The English, French, and Dutch in the Atlantic," "The Colonial Wars and the Fall of the Old Empires," "Modern Expansion: the Americas and British Dominions," "Modern Expansion: the Dependencies of Europe," with a final chapter "To-day and the Future." It is rare to find so much wealth of historic detail compressed within such limited space; the author has the happy faculty of being brief without being obscure.

The volume is well illustrated, and it has numerous specially designed maps. The bibliography is excellent, and it is furnished with an Index chiefly of countries and movements.

P. W. B.

The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California: Their History, Architecture, Lore. By Rexford Newcomb, M. A., M.Arch., A.I.A. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925. Pp. vii + 329, with a Frontispiece in color, 217 illustrations and measured line drawings, 24 line drawings.

It is only within recent days that the story of Spanish policy in America has had sympathetic treatment; it began really when Edward Gaylord Bourne's *Spain in America* demolished the flimsy fabric of misrepresentation which had so long obscured the truth regarding the treatment of the aboriginal races in the Southland. The distinctive aim of Spanish policy was to gather the Indians into villages, train them in industry so they could be self-supporting. Every village had its church and priest; schools were established; and every possible effort was made to protect the natives from injustice at the hands of the whites. Says Professor Bourne: "The work of the Church was rapidly adapted to the new field of labor. In the main it consisted of three distinct types—the parish work of the Spanish towns in charge of a *cura;* the teaching and parish work in Indian villages, or *doctrina,* in charge of either of two or more friars, and the mission among the wild Indians in charge of *misioneros.* Every town, Indian as well as Spanish, was required by law to have its church, hospital and school for teaching Indian children Spanish and the elements of religion."

Mr. Newcomb's sumptuous volume constitutes "the evidence in the case." It is in fact a bibliographical pilgrimage to shrines, the ruins of which recall, as nothing else can, that political and religious movement of the eighteenth century which brought the Pacific coast for the first time into contact with European civilization. It will enlarge immeasurably our knowledge of the great Southwest, for it is a close study of old world contacts with North America. It leads, moreover, to an understanding of the civilization which brought influences of many of the world's previous art epochs to the shrines of the Western world.

The author modestly disclaims "having unearthed anything very new in a purely historical sense" but he naturally "feels some measure of pride regarding the architectural finds." It is indeed an alluring study, this Spanish architecture of the South West, which is one of the few reminders of that elder time when soldier and priest crossed the seas, the one in an adventure for gold, the other on a quest for souls. The results of the *conquistadores* are but mere deposits on the shores of historic memory, but the spirit of the *padre* endures through many of the monuments that he raised are crumbling away. It is mainly with the architectural story of these movements that the author deals, and he limns most artistically the story of the evolution of the Spanish-Colonial architecture of the Pacific Coast, and traces its historical, social, religious and political influences and its ethnic significance.

The work is divided into three major sections: 1. Environmental Backgrounds; 2. The Old Missions; 3. The Historic Houses. Each section is divided into chapters, thus giving us a connected story.

The extent of missionary activities in New Spain may be inferred from the fact that by 1535 over one hundred friars were engaged in the field, principally Dominicans and Franciscans. In 1590 the Jesuits entered the mission field and within the next half-century they had established some thirty-five missions in Sinoloa and Sonora. The great period of Jesuit activity began however, after the arrival in the mission field of Fathers Kino and Salvatierra. With them was associated Father Ugarte. To Salvatierra California is indebted for the establishment of the

"Pious Fund" which in later days was to become a *cause celèbre* between Mexico and the United States and, singularly enough, was finally adjusted in principle in 1875 by the decision of a British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, who was umpire of the Mixed Claims Commission.

The Jesuit missions ended with the expulsion of the order from the Spanish possessions in 1767. Then entered the Franciscans whose marvellous success must in a large measure be ascribed to Padre Junipero Serra, whose life of self-sacrifice resembles that of the Poverello of Assissi . . . . "In truth he was an eighteenth-century Francis, and in contrast to the society in which he lived, seemed always more medieval than modern" (p. 22).

After the passing of "The Apostle of California" worthy successors preserved and fostered the programme of Father Serra. The missions prospered and grew into wealthy estates, absolutely and solely administered by the *padres*, who became, in a sense not only the preachers of the country, but also its great farm managers, its great merchants, and so far as the Indian population was concerned, its rulers" (p. 47). The prosperity of the Missions ended when, on August 17, 1833, the Mexican Congress "passed the law designed to take the mission lands from the hands of the *padres*, give them as grants to settlers, and establish local governments" (p. 49). Later came the "secularization" of the mission lands. This is a euphemistic designation for spoilation. The methods devised to carry out the law "were ill-advised and stupid, and the commissioners charged with administration frequently corrupt and incompetent.....Instead of seeking the advice of the *padres* who knew the Indians, their abilities and limitations, the commissioners completely ignored them. With great pomp and long harangues, they announced to the Indians that they might go free wherever they pleased. Thus were these children, who had always been dependent upon the judgment and planning of others, turned out to shift for themselves. To most of them this new freedom from restraint meant idleness and debauchery" (p. 50).

As a consequence, says Engelhardt, in *Missions of California*, "the Indians gradually disappeared; the mission property was squandered; mission buildings given over to destruction; the

missionaries one by one died amid the few faithful who shared the poverty of the beloved *padre*, and the land once cultivated by the neophytes passed into the hands of the avaricious."

One hundred and forty-six Friars Minor labored in California from 1769 to 1845. Sixty-seven died at their posts, two as martyrs, and the remainder retired to their mother-houses. The missions from south to north, with the date of their founding were: San Diego (16 July, 1769); San Luis Rey (13 June, 1798); San Juan Capistrano (1 November, 1770); San Gabriel (8 September, 1771); San Fernando (8 September, 1797); San Bonaventura (31 March, 1782); Santa Barbara (4 December, 1786); Santa Inez (17 September, 1804); Purissima Concepción (8 December, 1787); San Luis Obispo (1 September, 1772); San Miguel (25 July, 1797); San Miguel (25 July, 1797); San Antonio de Padua (14 July, 1771); Soledad (9 October, 1791); San Carlos de Carmelo (3 June, 1770); Santa Cruz (25 September, 1791); San Juan Bautista (24 June, 1797); Santa Clara (12 January, 1777); San José (11 June, 1797); San Francisco (9 October, 1776); San Rafael (14 December, 1817); San Francisco Salona (4 July, 1817).

All these missions receive adequate treatment in Mr. Newcomb's volume, and the description in each case is accompanied with illustrations which are the best product of the engraver's art. They are not all of equal importance however, and the differentiation is discussed so that he who runs may read. The Mission of St. Carlos is perhaps the most important of all the missions founded by the Franciscans. Says the author: "While many of the mission structures are more elaborate in legend and story, few churches can equal San Carlos in real historic and religious interest. San Carlos was the first seat of authority for the system and may therefore, in some ways be considered the first Cathedral of California for, although the Padre-presidente was not a bishop in the true ecclesiastical sense, Padre Serra had permission to confirm and otherwise perform duties corresponding to those of a bishop. This fact, together with the further fact that the church is the resting-place of the saintly Junipero, serves to command for her an attention given to no other Californian shrine" (p. 256).

In a former issue of the *Catholic Historical Review* we had a

lengthy appreciation of a very valuable volume, compiled by Frances Rand Smith, *The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo* which treats with even greater length and more detail of this interesting shrine.

After dealing with the missions and their architectural expressions, Mr. Newcomb devotes a large part of his volume to other Hispanic types of California—the domestic, the *casa de pueblo* and the *casa de campo* of which many specimens are still to be seen at San Diego, San Gabriel, Santa Barbara, or Los Angeles. The *casa de campo* was the farm-house, the *casa de pueblo,* the town dwelling. There are several excellent illustrations of these, chief of which is the Casa Estudillo, built in 1825. This has a romantic interest owing largely to "the fact that Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson made the little family chapel of the Estudillo's the marriage-place of her *Ramona,* in her famous Indian novel of the same name." The house is better known today under the romantic name of "Ramona's Marriage-place" than by its more authentic title. There are lengthy chapters following which treat of the architectural gems of Santa Barbara and Monterey where many superb reminders of Spanish town life are still preserved. There is a very detailed description of a typical *casa de campo* in the penultimate chapter, where the author discusses Rancho Camúlos, originally known as Rancho San Francisco "interesting not only historically, but also for the fascinating and romantic story that one of America's great novelists has woven in and about the place. If the Estudillo House of San Diego can be called the "marriage-place of Ramona," Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson's dusky heroine, Camúlos Rancho, twenty-five miles east of the old mission of San Buenaventura, and in Ventura County, is as truly the "home of Ramona." It was here that Mrs. Jackson got her inspiration for the chief characters of her charming book.

Mr. Newcomb's final chapter is a brief summary of the attractive features of "one of the few architectures appropriate to a land with the climate of California and the Hispanic background that she possesses." It is an indication of the cultural aspirations of the State of California that she is capitalizing upon her architectural heritage and that "some of the most beautiful and meaningful architectural expressions of our day are

to be found within her borders, where the real spirit of this delightfully simple, virile, and honest folk expression is sensed in both public and private buildings. The old mission structures, town and ranch houses, offer inexhaustible inspirations for institutional and residential architecture, and these are being utilized to the fullest, with the result that California cities are blossoming forth in a Renaissance of Spanish-Colonial" (p. 358).

Apart from its architectural value this volume is of prime importance to the historian, and it is as such that the reviewer actually appraises it. Mechanically it is an excellent production, and the publishers have left nothing undone to make it attractive. Format, paper, binding, illustrations (splendid half-tones)—all contribute to a worthy presentation of a fascinating subject.

P. W. B.

The Jesuit Martyrs of North America. By John J. Wynne, S.J. New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation. Pp. xi + 245, with Maps and Illustrations.

Though the story of the Jesuit martyrs has often been told, Father Wynne's volume gives it a new setting and projects the actors with a vividness of outline that makes the heroic deeds of the new *Beati* very real to the layman who seeks deeper knowledge of those whom the Church now so signally honors.

It preserves the tradition and the spirit of the *Jesuit Relations* and gives them the personal *attrait* which is ofttimes obscured in those priceless documents by the humility and spirit of self-effacement which was characteristic of these writers, who were heroes of the invisible and the supernatural. It weaves together for the first time into one complete narrative what has hitherto appeared in books or chapters about one or other of the principals, or as part only of a general history to which it is subordinated.

An introductory chapter, actually the background of this thrilling story, narrates the glorious deeds of the first half of the seventeenth century that were destined to have a lasting influence, not the least of which was the missionary spirit which fired the religious orders in Europe to engage in those sacred ventures that spelled sacrifices as well as conquests for the Faith. So active was the missionary spirit at the time that

Gregory XV found it necessary to constitute a permanent Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, under whose jurisdiction all Catholic foreign missions have since been conducted.

Amongst the missionaries who had already shed lustre upon the Church in those early days were many sons of St. Ignatius who within the century following the organization of the Society of Jesus had already circled the earth and established missions from Canada to Far Cathay. They had become a "light of revelation unto the gentiles" and had brought the message of the Cross of those "who sat in darkness and the shadow of death."

Father Wynne's volume tells the story of eight of these soldiers of the Cross whose life-work has had a lasting influence, and has now become sacred and imperishable, Isaac Jogues, John de Brébeuf, Nöel Chabanel, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier, Gabriel Lalemant, René Goupil and John Lalande, who left France in the early days of the seventeenth century to labor in the western wilderness there to die for the Faith. Never did men work so nobly, or with such optimism mid privations, obstacles, and ever-present dangers. "Like giants they stand out even among their own heroic associates."

Father Wynne reveals the intimate life of these martyrs and from his pages emerges a Jogues who was not only a saint and a scholar but athlete as well—the Jogues who ran faster than any Indian, but who refused to run from a wielder of the tomahawk and scalping-knife which gave him the martyr's crown. Here we see a Daniel, barefooted, tottering from torture and starvation, with breviary suspended from his neck, but still gay and happy—the Daniel who longed for martyrdom but dreaded causing trouble to others more than he dreaded the murderous onslaught of the savage. There is Brébauf, "the lion-hearted" who "suffered like a rock, insensible to the fire and the flames, without uttering any cry, and keeping a profound silence, which astonished his executioners themselves who, indignant at his zeal, cut off his nose and tore off his lips; but his blood spoke more loudly than his lips had done." There is the gentle Lallemant whose eyes were burnt out by burning coals and whose tongue had been broiled. Before Lallemant and Brébeuf expired the hearts of both were torn out and they made a feast for the savage executioners, who also drank their blood. "While

still quite full of life, pieces of flesh were removed from their thighs, from the calves of their legs, and from their arms,—which those executioners placed on the coals to roast, and ate in their sight."

There is the angelic Garnier whose missionary career had actually begun in the prisons of Paris whilst he was yet a student there. And there is the story of Nöel Chabanel of the Province of Toulouse, from out the Huguenot country of Lozère who had bound himself by a vow to remain in the mission field until death "so that he might die upon the Cross." This was the vow:

"Jesus Christ, my Saviour, who by a wonderful dispensation of your paternal providence have willed that I, although altogether unworthy, should be a coadjutor of the Holy Apostles in this vineyard of the Hurons; impelled by the desire of ministering to the purpose which your holy Spirit hath respecting me, that I should help forward the conversions to the faith of the barbarians of this Huron country: I, Nöel Chanabel—being in the presence of the most holy Sacrament of Your Body and Your Precious Blood, which is the tabernacle of God among men—make a vow of perpetual stability in this Mission of the Hurons; understanding all these things as the Superiors of the Society expounded them, and as they choose to dispose of me. I conjure You, therefore, O my Saviour, to be pleased to receive me as a perpetual servant of this Mission, and to make me worthy of so lofty a ministry. Amen."

The vow was accepted and Nöel Chabanel died as he had lived—striving alone to find a way out, after sending a few of the followers he had laboriously gathered, ahead to safety. None saw his passing save the apostate who struck with the hatred born of those evil spirits who came to enter and take possession of him when he deserted the path to perfection.

Two not raised to the priesthood had a share in this glorious chapter of immolation, Goupil and Lalande, lay assistants of the missionaries, both of whom died as companions of Jogues. They were *donnés*, or oblates, rendering service to the priests which we can scarcely appreciate.

From Father Wynne's tribute to these *Beati*, we may draw the lesson which Justice Dowling in the recent celebration at "Martyrs' Hill," Auriesville, N. Y., outlined. He said: "God

grant that these blessed Martyrs may be recognized as models not only of Christian virtue, but also of fidelity to duty, of fortitude and courage, and of the virtues which should appeal to us strongly as citizens. They are more than saints of the Catholic Church, and I hope and pray that this will be understood."

Father Wynne's volume emphasizes what Reuben Gold Thwaites says in his Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*: "the story of the Martyrs forms one of the most thrilling chapters in human history," and as the author of *Huronia* says "with the passing of time its appeal to human sympathy will grow stronger as it takes a permanent place in the history of heroic achievement." The same author (a non-Catholic) says: "It would be interesting to forecast the effect of [the Beatification] on the religious life of Canada, could that be done even approximately. What may with some certainty be expected, will be a religious awakening in the Catholic Church, not only in Canada, but in the United States also. Shrines will be erected in Huronia and presumably in the Mohawk Valley, pilgrimages will be made, foundations consecrated, prayers invoked and a quickening of general activity among the faithful. The intimacy of a national cult will appeal to devout minds, and there will naturally be a deepening and strengthening of devotional duties. Nor will the other churches of the land be unaffected."

P. W. B.

NOTICES

(Selected volumes from this list will be reviewed in later issues).

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton (Albert and Charles Boni, New York) is one of the most valuable historical publications of the year. Miss Kenton has rendered *The Relations* available to the world at large, by abridging the great work of Reuben Gold Thwaites, of which only 750 copies were printed. To those who have long been familiar with *The Jesuit Relations* in their original form, it seemed that their appearance in a condensed form would leave much to be desired. Miss Kenton, however, has achieved marked success, and, barring certain items for criticism when we shall deal with the work at length, she has preserved the spirit of the letters and journals whose value to students of early American history is incalculable. In next issue we hope to deal with Miss Kenton's achievement at some length.

Raoul Narsy in a recent issue of *Les Amitiés Catholiques Françaises*, under the caption "Trois Hommes d'Eglise" writes a very lengthy *compte rendu* of Madame Claude d'Habioville's *Grandes figures de l'Eglise contemporaine*. The three eminent personages whose portraits Madame d'Habionville limns so perfectly are Mgr. Duchesne, Mgr. Baudrillart, and the illustrious Archbishop of St. Paul, John Ireland. Our interest lies chiefly in an appreciation of "the consecrated blizzard of West" whom malevolent critics have not infrequently traduced, and whose memory they do not hesitate to besmirch. Says M. Narsy:

Les lecteurs ne goûteront pas moins les pages qu'elle consacre à Mgr. Ireland. Avec beaucoup de bonheur elle a su définir les mérites particuliers de l'éminent archevêque de Saint-Paul, ses dons de chef-né, d'entraîneur d'hommes, sa prescience des conditions nouvelles de l'apostolat et de l'expansion catholique. Elle l'a fait sans tomber dans le panégyrique.

Jesus of Nazareth, His Times, His Life and His Teaching, by Joseph Klausner, translated from the original Hebrew by Herbert Danby, D.D., (Macmillan Company, New York) is a Jewish estimate of Our Lord, written as the author says (p. 11) "to provide in Hebrew for Hebrews a book which shall tell the history of the Founder of Christianity along the lines of modern criticism, without either the exaggeration and legendary accounts of the evangelists....."

The jacket assures us that "every effort is made to keep the discussion within the limits of pure scholarship and make it as objective as possible, avoiding those subjective religious and nationalist aims which do not come within the purview of pure scholarship." Yet even the translator is responsible for the admission that "though the author is conscientiously con-

vinced that he has been quite untouched by subjective influences, the Christian reader will not agree."

As an illustration of the "objectivity" of this book, the curiously-minded should read very carefully pages 359, 361, 363, 366, 373, 411 ff.

Briefly it is a fabric woven from rationalistic literature. Less popular than a little volume written by the late Rabbi Krauskopf, it is nevertheless an indictment of Christ the Son of God, with a similar purpose in view, the perpetuation of the teachings of a school of which Nietzsche and Tolstoy are representative.

A Retreat for Nuns, by Rev. Walter Elliot, C.S.P. (The Apostolic Mission House, Washington, D. C.) is the latest contribution of this venerable master of the spiritual life to the long list of works which he has given to the American clergy and laity. He has wrought into this latest work the results of many decades of fruitful labor in the Master's Vineyard and woven into this spiritual fabric golden threads of experience long wound round the bobbin of an active priestly career. Whilst primarily intended as an aid to the retreat-master, the volume will also be serviceable for spiritual reading. Its pages, aglow with zeal, should kindle in many hearts a yearning for the exalted ideals of Christian perfection. Whilst the entire book is appealing in its message, the chapter treating of "Vocations" is of special significance for priests. There is a dearth of vocations at the present time, and religious communities are hard pressed to secure subjects to meet the ever-increasing demands of our parochial schools and kindred institutions.

The Ascetic Works of St. Basil, translated, with scholarly prefaces and notes, by Rev. W. K. I. Clarke, D.D., has recently been issued by the S. P. C. K., of which the Macmillan Company are the American representatives. It is a valuable addition to the literature of Christian monasticism. Though outshone in the West by Benedictinism, the Basilian rule remains a monument in monastic history. Dr. Clarke's introduction is a splendid piece of scholarship.

St. Augustine's City of God, by Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. (Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, London) is an excellently reasoned synopsis of *De Civitate Dei*, the greatest work of the Bishop of Hippo. Father Rickaby's foreword is illuminating. Readers will regret the serious lacks of the book: it has neither index, nor list of contents. Were these added the value of the book would be materially enhanced.

The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages, Vol. XIII, by H. K. Mann, D.D., covering the pontificates of Honorius III and Gregory IX and extending over the years 1216-1241 continues the studies on the Papacy by the learned rector of the Beda College in Rome, after a lapse of

nearly a decade. Whilst Monsignor Mann's work lacks the profound scholarship that characterizes another worker in the field of papal history —Ludwig von Pastor—it is a splendid contribution to ecclesiastical history.

The Training of Writers, by Edward F. Garesché, S.J., M.A., LL.B. (The Macmillan Company, New York) is a presentation in book form of a series of articles which have appeared in the *Catholic School Journal*, of Milwaukee. The aim of the little work is to supplement manuals of composition and rhetoric. At least, this is what the author sets out to do. We doubt if the perusal of this book will add many cubits to the stature of the budding writer. The book may be helpful to young students who are chewing the cud of disillusionment in the contemplation of the sheaf of poetic and other effusions which have found their way back to the writer with the customary appendage of the card which expresses an editor's "regrets."

Boy Guidance, edited by Rev. Killian Hennrich, O.M.Cap. (Benziger Brothers, New York) is a contribution to the literature of Catholic boy leadership. It is a practical book, and each phase of the problem is handled by a capable and experienced authority. It covers in orderly sequence all important aspects of the work, from applied psychology to musical progress. Further, it is a very timely publication, for nowadays too many boys' organizations are conducted along purely humanitarian lines. The religious background is lost sight of, and the old principle "*mens sana in corpore sano*" has lost its connotation by over emphasis of "sanity" which eliminates its most important element, religious influence. The methods set forth in this book have long passed beyond the horizon of theory; they have been tried in the school of experience and their value has been appraised. They have been instrumental in building up for the Catholic Boy's Brigade a numerical strength without parallel among similar Catholic organizations.

Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference (published by the Conference) is a worthy successor to the Reports previously published, and Fr. Kirsch is to be congratulated on the manner in which this *Report* is edited. The *Report* deals exclusively with Franciscan contributions to the study of Sacred Scripture, with an addendum by Father Thomas Schwertner, O.P., "The Franciscans and Contemporary Educational Idealism."

The Franciscans have long been identified with Biblical studies and it is fitting that the entire work of the last Conference should have been devoted to this important phase of ecclesiastical studies. In a later issue we hope to review this *Report* at some length.

Life of Arnold Janssen, Founder of the Society of the Divine Word, by

Herman Fischer, S.V.D. (Mission Press, S.V.D.. Techny, Ill.) is an intimate study of the saintly founder of the great Society which recently celebrated its golden Jubilee. It is the story of a Modern Crusader to whom must be ascribed the revival in our day of interest in foreign missions. Father Janssen planted the seed of the Society of the Divine Word in the little village of Steyl, in Holland, guided it for thirty-four years, and before his death he saw his spiritual sons and daughters in every land winning souls for God. Father Fischer's work is the golden jubilee gift of Techny to the memory of Father Janssen.

The Growth of the City State: Lectures on Greek and Roman History, by William Reginald Halliday, B.A., B.Litt. (Small, Maynard and Company, Boston) was originally written for freshmen, but they "proved to be too ill prepared to profit by so allusive a treatment." The term "allusive" is quite *apropos* as the volume barely touches the fringe of a most important subject, and the author assures us that "the opinions expressed in this little book are suggestions for consideration." Briefly, the volume is a survey of the beginnings of Mediterranean civilization and the development of political life along the shores of "the great inland sea," with specific reference to Athens and Rome. There is a special chapter on the agrarian question in Greece and Rome which ought to be useful to some of our American tinkering theorists. Mr. Halliday insists that his book is intended to be read *with* or *after* not *instead of* a text-book, and wisely states: "There is no short cut to learning history, or indeed anything else, and of the two unintelligent processes, which sometimes pass for acquiring knowledge, it is a far greater waste of time to memorize second-hand opinions than to memorize dates." Copious bibliographical and explanatory notes are appended to each chapter. These alone are of exceptional value to the student who wishes to delve more deeply into the subject discussed by the author. The chapter dealing with "Social Conditions in Athens in the Fifth Century" is decidedly illuminating, and were our writers on social happenings at the present time interested, they would find valuable information in the story of Peisistratean Athens.

The Chief Sources of English Legal History, by Percy H. Winfield, LL.D. (The Harvard Press, Cambridge, Mass.) is based on a course of lectures delivered by Dr. Winfield in the Law School of Harvard University during the spring of 1923. Writing primarily to provide a survey of the sources and an appraisal of the materials that must go before historical research on individual points, the author has in addition indicated the way toward achievement of a general doctrinal history of "the immemorial and yet ever freshly growing fabric of our common law."

Beyond its significance for the future of Anglo-American legal history and its worth for the student of that history, the book will be of immediate practical value in the administration of justice. It makes accessible a reliable guide to the sources. Both students of law as well as practic-

ing lawyers interested in more than the practical side of their day's work, will find Dr. Winfield's book stimulating and informing.

The author is an advocate of the formation of an Anglo-American Law Bibliographical Society, and points out its feasibility and necessity. He assures us that comparatively little money would be necessary—"a mere trifle when one considers what is spent (not to say squandered in other directions) by the managers of funds devoted wholly or in part to the publication of useful information." He says in this connection: "Let us by all means welcome a volume of statistics on the fluctuations of the tinned milk industry during the war of 1914-1919, very much as our ancestors no doubt welcomed, a century ago, the publication of the Record Commission of 'The Advertiser for Dogs of the German Middle Ages.' Perhaps we lack a sense of perspective if we contend that a bibliography of the history of our law is more important than these; but at least we believe that it would appeal to a wider audience."

We commend Dr. Winfield's initial chapter as a model dissertation on "Equipment for Research." Whilst it deals specifically with legal history, it affords the graduate student a brief but valuable introduction to the domain of historical criticism. One statement is most important: "The principles of historical investigation have been developed in several valuable books (his list includes Bernheim, Langlois and Seignobos, Freeman, Stubbs, R. L. Poole, Gwatkin, Wyer, and Gross). But no one has ever yet learned either this or any other art merely by reading books about it. Personal touch with experts, and individual experiments in the work itself, are equally important factors of success."

The British Commonwealth and Its Unsolved Problems, by C. M. MacInnes, B.A.) (Longmans, Green and Co., London and New York) aims "to state briefly some phases of the Imperial problem. particularly those affected by considerations of nation and race." It is an excellent survey of a most important subject, and whilst much that the book contains may not be of interest to non-Britishers there is a vast amount of information which students of contemporary history will find eminently useful. Few realize how little is known of British institutions or the vastness of the Dominions and other dependencies by students as does the teacher of history in an American High School or College. This little book should be useful in our educational establishments. Though the "Kenya Colony" may be perfect *terra incognita* to most students, all should be interested in the Dominion of Canada and its present status. One of the most valuable chapters in Mr. MacInnes' book is that which discusses "The Problem of Dominion Status."

It is rather unfortunate that the book lacks an Index. We suggest to publishing firms, particularly those in England, that they insist upon the provision by authors of this most necessary bibliographical apparatus.

Mediaeval England, edited by H. W. C. Davis (At the Clarendon Press, Oxford) is a new edition of Barnard's *Companion to English History*, with

several changes and editions. The plan of the work, however. as laid down by the original editor has not been modified. Certain chapters have been written *de novo*: Ecclesiastical Architecture; The Monks, the Friars, and the Secular Clergy; Handwriting (Chapter XI, section 2); Printed Books (Chapter XI, section 3); Coinage. The other chapters have been revised and brought up to date where there was need.

United States, by Nellie Allen (Ginn and Company, Boston, and New York) is a new edition of a former publication by the same author and forms part of the series of "Geographical and Industrial Studies" being issued by the publishers. It is a valuable publication and a desirable aid to students of American history who can gain largely through a study of the country's industries. By a study of our industries, the student is brought into direct touch with the every-day working life of the people and with that form of human effort which has, to a great extent, determined the rank and position of the United States among the nations of the earth.

The early chapters of the book deal with physical geography and physiography—a very necessary topic indeed, as it is unfortunately too true that to-day our American schools devote too little attention to a subject which is fast becoming "a lost art." The book is admirably illustrated, has a statistical appendix, and is furnished with a valuable index.

American History, by Henry Eldridge Bourne and Elbert Jay Benton (D. C. Heath and Company, New York) is one of the latest accessions to the already long list of American histories. It has many unusual features; many things usually found in school things are wisely omitted, and less space is given to military history. The slavery controversy has been reduced to "an essential minimum." It emphasizes the connection between the current political and social problems and the past experience of the American people. The economic and social revolution since the Civil War forms the backbone of the text for recent times.

At times the brevity which the authors set out as a special feature of their very attractive work leads to obscurity. For example,—"Twice Gilbert tried to establish a colony in the neighborhood of Cape Breton Island. .... Gilbert's colony never landed." Evidently the authors are not familiar with certain phases of British colonial history. Gilbert not only "landed" but he proclaimed in St. John's, Newfoundland, the first colonial ordinance ever issued by an Englishman in the western world. We refer the authors to Hayes' account of the ceremony, cited by Prowse (*History of Newfoundland*, pp. 71-73).

We are glad to notice the extensive use of graphs by the authors. These, in the reviewer's estimation, are most valuable and, if judiciously used, add interest to the history lesson.

Whilst one does not expect to find a "complete bibliography" in a textbook, there is a serious objection to the volume under review as to its

references to the religious side of the development of the United States. We hope that this *lacuna* may be satisfactorily bridged over in the event of further revision.

The Touchstone of Architecture, by Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A. (Oxford University Press, American Branch) is a series of essays dealing with problems which the author approaches "from the point of view of architecture." In explanation of the title he says, with what seems a touch of caustic jocularity: "Since the middle of the last century the Arts have been the happy hunting-ground of the literary man. The artist is too busy with his own work, and though he alone knows the aims and ideals of Art, he is not trained to compete with the gladiators of the pen. The result is, that with the public that takes some little interest in art the gladiators have it all their own way. They amuse themselves with setting up a succession of altars to unknown gods in painting and sculpture, and with disquisitions on architecture which have little relevance to conditions under which that art is, and has to be, practised. The volume comprises eleven essays, all of them learned and informative. Sir Reginald is not "dogmatic"; but he is very assertive as becometh one who is a master in his special field. He very candidly tells so-called critics "Art criticism, after all is not the final cause of art, and if the critics would leave the artist and his work alone for a time there would be a chance of the re-establishment of a wise judgment in these things, and meanwhile the critics might profitably employ their time in the serious study of the history of art, and refrain from endeavoring to screw down its practice to their speculations in metaphysics. It would be charitable to find the motive of the new gospels in a sincere desire to reach the secret of aesthetic enjoyment, but it is difficult to get rid of an everlasting suspicion of charlatanism" (p. 136).

As to the mission of the artist he says: "It is not for the artist to cut capers to the pit, or play for the applause of the gallery. Rather it is his high privilege to give the finest expression that he can to the thought and emotion within him, and in doing so let him think of an audience beyond the reach of advertisement and intrigue" (p. 245).

Health and Good Citizenship, by Andress and Evans (Ginn and Company, Boston), is a volume "whose keynote is *Service*." The book has two divisions, one which concerns itself with the fundamentals of physiology and hygiene, wherein health habits are emphasized, the other half of the book aims to present those facts about the health of the home, school, and community which will give pupils an insight into problems of health, and inspire them to take part in their solution. There are many illustrations of men and women who have been of greatest service in promoting the health and welfare of mankind, notable among them being Pasteur, Lister, Trudeau, Read, and others who tell the fascinating story of the warfare against disease and the campaign for healthful living.

Starting Points in Social Science, by A. G. Keller, Ph.D. (Ginn and Company, Boston) is a collection of essays, dealing with elementary matters introductory to a study of the social sciences, originally prepared and privately printed for intra-mural use in Yale University. We suggest that some of the chapters in this volume be basically revised, or pruned of their generalizations. The chapter on "Education" seems to indicate that the author has not grasped the meaning of the word in its real sense. The term "free inquiry" has been long covering a multitude of pedagogical sins, whilst "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" are worked threadbare.

Animal Stories from Eskimo Land, by Renée Coudert Riggs (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York) is an attractive little volume of Far North tales compiled with unusual charm and insight for young folks. As the wife of a former Governor of Alaska Mrs. Riggs had ample opportunity to study the Eskimos at close range, and she has written this little book in the hope that American boys and girls "may take an interest in that quaint people, living still in the stone age, who, on account of their contact with the so-called civilized races, are gradually vanishing into the past." Mrs. Riggs states that the legends which she presents so charmingly were originally written down by Dr. Daniel S. Neuman, of Nome, just as he heard them in the Eskimo "story-house." As a reading text in middle forms of our schools the book should be of great interest and value.

Real Stories of the Geography Makers, by John T. Faris (Ginn and Company, Boston) is, like all the literary products of the author, a very useful book, and should find a place in the class-room as an adjunct to the regular text. It covers a wide field of knowledge, and offers a varied programme of geographical and biographical studies. Each chapter is self-contained, but there is added in many instances a select list of books that are easily procured in an ordinary library. The book is profusely illustrated and is furnished with an Index and Pronouncing Vocabulary.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The American Council of Learned Societies.—We have received the following important announcement from the Executive Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies:

"Through a subvention of $5,000 a year for three years the American Council of Learned Societies will be able to offer in 1926, 1927 and 1928 a number of small grants (not exceeding $300) for the purpose of aiding scholars who require assistance in the conduct of projects of research in the humanistic and social sciences. Grants will be made only to mature scholars, experienced in scientific methods of research, and for specific purposes (travel, assistance, copies, photographs, appliances etc.) in connection with definite projects. Grants will not be available for work the object of which is to fulfil the requirements for any academic degree, and in general preference will be given to applicants who are not eligible to benefit from special funds for research such as those maintained by certain universities.

The awards for 1926 will be made by April 1 by the Committee on Aid to Research of the American Council of Learned Societies: *Chairman*, Dean Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., Professor Edwin F. Gay, Harvard University, Professor Edwin Greenlaw, Johns Hopkins University, Dean Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago, and Dean Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, Columbia University.

Applications for grants in 1926 must be in the hands of the Chairman of the Committee by February 28. Scholars who wish to make such applications should secure the circular *Information to Applicants* from the Chairman of the Committee or from Waldo G. Leland, Executive Secretary American Council of Learned Societies, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C."

This important organization is the subject of a brief but informative contribution by Dr. Leo Francis Stock to the *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis), October 1, 1925. Dr. Stock says:

In the spring of 1920 there was organized in New York the American Council of Learned Societies, and affiliation made with the Union Académique Internationale, whose permanent seat is at Brussels. The American Council was later incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia with the following constituent societies: American Philosophical Society, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Antiquarian Society, American Oriental Society, American Philological Association, Archaeological Institute of America, Modern Language Association of America, American Historical Association, American Economic Association, American Philosophical Association, American Political Science Association, and American Sociological Society, each organization being represented in the Council by two delegates. The objects of the Council are, in the words of its constitution, "to advance the general interests of the humanistic studies and especially to maintain and strengthen relations among

the national societies devoted to such studies." With present headquarters at Washington, it also acts as the medium of communication between the International Union and the societies which are represented in the Council. Some statement of the activities of this organization in furthering international scholarship in humanistic studies may be of interest to the readers of the *Fortnightly Review*.

It will be unnecessary to mention all the projects of foreign and American origin that have been presented to the Council at its several meetings as worthy of international coöperation. It will interest Catholic scholars, however, to note that at the first meeting, Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Historical Research, presented a proposal for the continuation of Father Conrad Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica*, of which Volume III, published at Münster in 1910, extends only through 1600, a work which was designated as "an invaluable handbook for both medieval and modern history." Doctor Jameson expressed the hope that if the Council approved this plan, others who were interested in it might supply the means to prosecute it. As the advisability of endorsing plans to which the Council could give no financial support was questioned, the subject has been postponed without prejudice.

Among other proposals was one of first importance to American scholars, and which is now assured of early fruition, *viz.*, a *Dictionary of American Biography*, to be patterned along the lines of the English Dictionary of National Biography. The generosity of Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, in the name of the New York *Times*, who guaranteed the sum of $500,000 for this purpose, will at last make possible a work which has been long needed. The selection of Professor Allen Johnson, of Yale University, editor of the *Chronicles of America*, as editor-in-chief of the Dictionary, is a guarantee of scholarly accomplishment. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward A. Pace, of the Catholic University, acted as one of the delegates of the American Philosophical Association when the agreement with Mr. Ochs was authorized.

In addition to the above, the following projects are now receiving the consideration of the Council; a *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, proposed by the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres; a *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*, a revision of Du Cange; a *Dictionary of Late Medieval British Latin*, covering the period from the Domesday Book to 1600; the study of medieval Latin Literature, the photographing of manuscripts in that field, and the establishment of a *Journal of Medieval Studies*, for which a board of editors has been appointed; the distribution of American learned publications abroad, so as to make more available to foreign scholars the results of American scholarship; the cataloguing of foreign manuscripts in American libraries and collections, for the use of American scholars who seek material abroad, not knowing of the existence of analogous papers near at hand, as well as to keep foreign scholars informed of the location of the many manuscripts now finding their way to America; and a project for a *corpus* of classical antiquity, in pictures and text, to cover the period from the epoch of Aegean civilization to about 500 A. D.

More recent proposals, not yet fully considered, concern the reproduction of Chinese statuettes, historical and mythological; the preparation of a repertory of the *incipits* of Latin manuscripts; the compilation of a list or register of diplomatic representatives; the international exchange of information and materials serviceable to scholars in the fields of government and public affairs; and the compilation of a *corpus* of documents relating to the Mediterranean trade from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. An effort is also to be made to secure an annual subvention of $5000 or $10,000 for three years, to be expended in small grants of from $50 to $300 in aid of research undertaken by individual scholars, to be available for such purposes as the compilation of statistics, preparation of graphs and maps, photostating of documents, etc.

Finally, the Council proposes to the Union Académique Internationale the preparation of a survey of current bibliography of the various fields of the humanistic sciences, and has voted its willingness to undertake the survey for North and South America. As a beginning of this enumeration of the resources and agencies of such scholarship in the United States, the June *Bulletin* of the Council contains a "List of American Journals devoted to the Humanistic and Social Sciences," compiled by the present writer, containing about 160 titles. Subsequent lists will contain the serials other than journals, such as Studies, Reports, Proceedings, Collections, etc.

Revealing an Ancient Civilization.— In connection with its department of Archaeology George Washington University recently afforded an opportunity to members of other educational institutions to attend an unusually informative series of lectures on early Maya civilization by Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, Associate in American Archaeology, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The series comprised three lectures, "The Old Maya Empire," "The New Maya Empire," "The Maya Hieroglyphic Writing"—all profusely illustrated.

Dr. Morley's lectures summarized in a very attractive way the operations of the expedition financed by the Carnegie Institution in its project to unearth the story of the almost forgotten Maya civilization.

Dr. Morley reviewed the history of the Mayas. He related that the city of Chichen-Itza was founded, according to the ancient chronicles of Yucatan and the books of Chilan Balan, some time between 471 A. D. and 530 A. D. At that time the Mayas of the old empire region in northern Guatemala and western Honduras and the present day states of Chiapas and Tabasco, had become involved in a great exodus or northern emigration. The causes for this are not precisely known although various hypotheses have been advanced to account for it.

Some have held that civil wars were responsible, others that it was due to foreign conquest, others maintain that a great epidemic of yellow fever, during the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, so desolated the old Maya empire that the Mayas left their homes and set out on their great northern

trek, while still another view is that the climate changed, bringing about a great increase in the annual rainfall, which in turn brought with it an increased growth of forests, and literally suffocated the country with vegetation.

Dr. Morley, however, who is credited with being the greatest authority on Maya hieroglyphics and history in the world, holds to none of the foregoing theories. He believes that the abandonment of the great old empire cities, such as Palanque in Chiapas and Yaxchilan in south Mexico, Piedras Negras, Naranjo Tikal, Nakum, Uaxactun, Seibal, Quirigua in Guatemala and Copan in Honduras was due to a purely economic cause, nothing less in fact than the gradual destruction of the available farm lands by the methods of agriculture then in vogue.

He believes that the system of agriculture practised by the ancient Mayas, namely, the Milpa agriculture, which consisted in felling the bush at the end of the rainy season and burning it at the end of the dry season and then planting corn at the beginning of the next rainy season, had gradually destroyed the productivity of the area and that, during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era, the ancient Mayas were obliged to abandon the cities of the old empire and seek new homes elsewhere. In Dr. Morley's opinion, it was either that or starvation.

Within ten years approximately the Carnegie institution of Washington will have uncovered, if the plans now under way materialize, one of the greatest centers of ancient habitation in the New World, namely, the great Maya metropolis of northern Yucatan, Chichen-Itza, and will have exposed to the world a hitherto buried and unknown city of glorious past splendor, covering an area of several square miles. The work is estimated to cost close upon $500,000. Work in September was suspended for 1925 due to the rainy season, which lasts from July to December, and Dr. Morley and his assistants will resume their labors during the month of January, 1926. For the last two years excavation work among the ruins of this "Egypt of America" has been conducted by the institution, but the real grind has taken place during the first six months of the present year.

Under an agreement reached with the Mexican government in July of 1923, the Carnegie Institution was granted a concession to make scientific study of the city of Chichen-Itza, and actual excavation work was commenced in May, 1924. The second field season was begun in January, 1925, and was recently brought to a conclusion.

The outstanding results of the 1925 excavations at Chichen-Itza may be briefly summarized under three general headings: one, the excavations at the temple of the warriors located in the northwest corner of the court of the columns, which comprises more than a thousand pillars; two, the excavations at the caracol or astronomical observatory; and, three, the discovery at old Chichen-Itza of the two new hieroglypic door lintels.

Concerning the first, namely the excavations at the temple of the warriors, the spades and picks of the excavators laid bare what proved to be a beautifully sculptured building. Dr. Morley described it as a pyramid built on four receding terraces, 36 feet high and ascended by a handsome

stairway 84 feet broad and rising at a sharp angle of 66 degrees with the horizontal. The balustrades of this stairway are carved in images of the feathered serpent, tails at the bottom and heads at the top. The vertical members of the three lower terraces of the pyramid are sculptured in magnificent friezes of jaguars, eagles, bears and warriors, and the whole scheme had been finally painted in brilliant colors. Although the greater portion of this magnificant sculptured mosaic had fallen to the ground and lay scattered in confusion, such is the nature of the carvings that it will be possible to reassemble the fallen parts and build them back into their original positions, so that the terraces will look as they did 500 years ago, the greatest picture puzzle on record.

At the top of the stairway stand two statues of Indians, one on either side, which formerly held staffs from which floated pennants. These two statues were found in debris at the base of the stairway during the course of the excavations. Since one was discovered on a Sunday and its mate on the next day, or Monday, the names of "Domingo" and "Lunes" (Spanish for Sunday and Monday) were given to this pair of twins by members of the Carnegie staff.

The doorway to the Temple of the Warriors indeed forms an imposing portico. Two giant stone columns carved in likeness to a feathered serpent, with heads resting on the ground and tails rising 15 feet aloft, divide the façade into a triple doorway. Passing within this fearsome portico one enters the outer chamber of the temple. This is a handsomely proportioned hall, 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, the roof of which had been supported by 12 handsomely sculptured columns, each 12 feet high. The figures on the sides of these columns are those of warriors, armed with spears, clubs and shields, and the figures suggested the name which has been given to the building, the Temple of Warriors. Passing through a single doorway in the back wall of the outer hall, one enters the sanctuary proper, a spacious chamber again 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, its roof being supported by 8 sculptured columns. At either end there is a painted stone bench and against the back wall there is the real jewel of the temple. This consists of a handsomely carved altar stone, 7 feet deep and 2 1-2 feet high, which is supported by 19 statues of human figures all being brilliantly painted. These figures are each so different and at the same time so exceedingly realistic that one can not help but feel each is a portrait. This handsome structure, standing at the center back wall, is the first thing which catches the eye on entering the sanctuary, and was undoubtedly the most important part of the entire temple, its holy of holies.

The second outstanding feature of the field season was the confirmation by actual observation of the long-suspected function of the tall round tower known as the "caraco" (snail) as being an astronomical observatory. Observations made through the stone-lined passageway in the upper part of this tower which is practically a lenseless telescope, established the amazing fact that on March 22 the sun set along the line of one diagonal of this passway, and that on June 22 it set along the other diagonal. These phenomena may probably be interpreted as indicating that the function of this

tower, or certainly at least this particular line of sight, was to fix for the ancient inhabitants of the city the position of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes and the summer solstice. There are remains of other lines of sight in the small chamber in the upper part of this tower and although the exact phenomena observable through them have not been yet determined, the function of this tower as the astronomical observatory of the ancient city of Chichen-Itza can no longer be doubted. During the excavation incidental to the repair of the "caracol" a hieroglyphic was found presenting a date, which Dr. Morley cyphers as the day "3-Imix-9-Yax falling in a Tun 1," this corresponding to the year 1280 of the Christian era.

The third outstanding discovery of the field season was the finding at old Chichen-Itza, that part of the city dating back to the first and second periods of its occupation, of two beautifully sculptured hieroglyphic stone door lintels in the temple of the Four Lintels. The first of these was found on May 22 and has 80 hieroglyphics carved upon its under side and face; the other was discovered on May 25 and has 72 hieroglyphics on its under side and face. These two lintels together with the other two in the same temple, and still another pair in a small temple at Ula, five miles south of old Chichen-Itza, strangely enough all bear the same date. which Dr. Morley has deciphered as "A Tun, ending on a day, I-Ahau," which corresponds to the year 1155 of the Christian era.

To carry further its search for the Maya race the Carnegie Institution has been granted a contract by the government of Guatamala to conduct excavations in the ruins of two buried Maya cities.

The life of the contract is for five years, beginning January 1, and makes it possible for the department of middle archeology to add extensive data to the valuable discoveries made at Chichen-Itza, in Yucatan. Uaxactun, the earliest known Maya center, is one of the cities now opened up to the official investigation.

It was from Guatemala that the Maya began their great trek to Yucatan, where they were destined to achieve the zenith of their cultural glory. Then, torn asunder and all but wiped out by civil war and the early Spanish invaders, they retreated centuries later back over their old trail, setting up, at Tayasal, their last metropolis. This, the second of the cities named in the contract, was occupied down to 1697 A. D.

A somewhat similar contract was granted the Institution in 1923 by the Mexican government, which gave it the right to excavate the long buried religious capital, Chichen-Itza. There important discoveries have been made and these, together with valuable data that is expected to be obtained in the Guatemala cities, are expected to clear up considerably the mystery surrounding the rise and fall of the Maya civilization.

Dr. Morley and O. G. Ricketson, Jr., will leave Washington for Uaxactun early in January.

A Turning Point in History.— J. W. Poynter contributes to the *Catholic Times* (Liverpool) the following study of The Peace of Westphalia. It

is the sequel to an article in an earlier issue which discussed the splitting up of Western Europe into two main warring camps, in 1521, when all hope definitely disappeared of the reconciliation of the Lutherans to the Holy See. Says Mr. Poynter:

> The Treaty of Westphalia marked the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War. The horrors through which, in that space of three decades, Europe had passed, had been frightful indeed.
>
> That war was, in its essence, an armed struggle for supremacy between the Catholic and Protestant forces of Europe. It must not be forgotten, however, that it did not break out until a century (by a curious coincidence, exactly a century), after Luther's first break from Rome. That first break was in 1517; the Thirty Years' War was kindled in 1617. It seems a long time; and some will say that the Reformation could not have been the main cause of a war of so late a date.
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> Remember, however, the slow working of causes in such great matters. Between 1517 and 1617 there had been many lesser wars; the Peasants' Wars, the Calvinist struggles, and others. In those agonies the rival forces of Europe had been slowly consolidating into two main hostile armies. In 1617 came the act which precipitated the long-pending final ordeal.
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> That act was the acceptance, by an assembly of the Bohemians, of Ferdinand of Styria as King of Bohemia. The importance of that acceptance was clear to everyone. Ferdinand was a strong Catholic; and it was also plain that he was destined shortly to be elected Holy Roman Emperor. To the Protestants of Bohemia, the prospect of the kingship of their country being held by one who was not only a zealous Catholic, but also Emperor, was a prospect they refused to entertain. There were riots in Prague. The delegates of the Empire were thrown out of the windows of a castle. This incident led to the coming of the quaint expression, "the defenestration of Prague": the "out-of-windowing"—*fenestra*, window. This outrage was followed by the search, by the Bohemians, for someone to whom they could offer the Crown. After a time it was accepted by Frederick, Elector of the Palatine, a decided Calvinist. The die was cast. The Catholic forces and the Protestant forces were joined in horrible war which was to ravage Europe for a whole generation.
>
> Of course, it was not a religious war pure and simple. What war ever has been a plain, straightforward matter? Indeed, is there any human event which is not a mingling of various factors? All kinds of complicating issues were mixed up in the Thirty Years' War. Nevertheless, the main and special feature of that awful struggle was the rivalry of creeds.

Unspeakable Horrors.

This is not the place to attempt even a sketch of the terrors of that war. One vivid passage from Carlyle ("Frederick the Great," vol. i, book 3, chapter 16) must suffice: "As the Armies too frequently, and the Kaiser's Armies habitually, lived without commissariat, often enough without pay, all horrors of war and of being a seat of war, that have been since heard of, are poor to those then practiced. The detail of which is still horrible to read. Germany, in all eatable quarters of it, had to undergo the process; tortured, torn to pieces, wrecked, and brayed as in a mortar under the iron mace of war. Brandenburg saw its towns sieged and sacked, its country population driven to despair, by the one party and the other..... The 'famine about Tangermünde had risen so high that men ate human flesh, nay, human creatures ate their own children.' 'Que faire; ils ont des canons!'"

Well, what was the end? From 1618 until 1648 the conflict raged; then, at the Peace of Westphalia, a "sort of end" was put to it. In what way, however, was the Peace of Westphalia especially crucial—especially notable as marking an era?

It was notable because it definitely registered, in the opinion of European statesmen, the abandonment of the pre-Reformation conception of the temporal office of the Holy See. Let us look at this a little more closely.

The Catholic ideal of society is thus expressed by one of the Popes of our own age (Leo XIII, Encyclical "Arcanum Divinæe," 1880): "Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Church, willed her sacred power to be distinct from the civil power, and each power to be free and unshackled in its own sphere; with this condition, however—a condition good for both, and of advantage to all men—that union and concord should be maintained between them; and that on those questions which are, though in different ways, of common right and authority, the power to which secular matters have been entrusted should happily and becomingly depend on the other power which has in its charge the interests of heaven."

That ideal, of course, has never been *fully* realized. Previous to the Reformation, however, it was realized *in some degree.* The Pope was widely accepted as superior to earthly kings, even in some temporal matters. Then came the Peace of Westphalia, after thirty years' struggle; and Westphalia definitely abandoned the old conception.

Europe was, by the Westphalian Peace, recognized as partly Catholic and partly Protestant, and the right ("cujus regio, ejus religio"), of secular rulers, to decide their subjects' faith, was made a principle of the settlement. A special clause of the Treaty shut out any objections which might be made by the Pope. As a matter of fact, Pope Innocent X (in the Bull "Zelo domus Dei") protested against these terms of the peace.

In 1648, then, was definitely registered the opinion of European statesmen that the Church is under Cæsar. The world has passed through much since that crucial year. What will the future bring?

"Babel Restored."—An editorial in the Boston *Pilot* bearing this caption says:

The series of articles on "My Religion," contributed by ten well-known novelists to an English journal, are now appearing at second hand in a New York Sunday paper. Why the religious views of novelists should be of such absorbing interest and demand such wide-spread dissemination is hard to fathom. Certainly there was little in the articles themselves to warrant their appearance in print much less their transatlantic circulation.

But the reading public is peculiar. It imputes to fiction writers the power of depicting the motives and hidden meanings of life. Far from questioning the novelists' interpretations, popular estimation has clothed fiction writers with a knowledge of life that to some minds is ecumenical in its authority, encyclopedic in its range, and apocalyptic in its vision.

Hence readers on both sides of the Atlantic received the announcement of this series with extraordinary interest and rewarded its originators with unparalleled popularity. But if they thought these articles were destined to shed any new light upon religious truth, they have been sadly disillusioned. For the series has done nothing but show how very, very little the leading novelists of the English speaking world really know about religion. "My Religion" was an apt title for the series, for every contributor had a different view of religon, which in almost every case was a mere subjective impression, evidently manufactured for the moment out of what the author thought would be a good religion for him to have, if indeed he had any.

All expressed themselves as believing in God. But their belief when analyzed proved to be as vague as vapor and as shadowy as a dream. One rather ponderously deposed that to him "a future life is unthinkable, but not therefore impossible." Another flippantly observed that he is far less concerned about what is going to happen to him in eternity, than about what is going to happen to the country in the next twenty years. And a third regretfully remembers the unquestioning faith and simple joyousness of past generations, and Micawber-like hazards the prophecy that in the not very distant future, "all established forms of worship will die of sheer inanition."

The series is not calculated either to enlighten or edify the public mind. In the whole sorry spectacle there is just one gleam of light. Catholics may solace themselves with the satisfaction that the only Catholic to enter the symposium, Mr. Compton MacKenzie, acquitted himself creditably, and delivered the only worth while statement in the whole series.

But the experience is instructive. It teaches, or at least it should teach, that popular novelists are unsafe guides in religious matters. And it suggests the thought that perhaps after all it would be better for all concerned, to leave the discussion of religion, and the exposition of religious

truth, strictly with those who have received from God the Divine commission to preach and teach the truth.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton, writing in the *Glasgow Observer*, October 16, says of this discussion:

Perhaps the most serious responsibility of the *Daily Express* in a recent symposium consists in having turned a number of novelists into journalists. The result was that they wrote journalese; and what is worse, they very unmistakably thought journalese. I do not say it with any superiority; for I am only a journalist and I could not possibly be a novelist..... I mean by thinking journalese something that is rather common and rather notable, but not very commonly noted.

What struck me most in reading "My Religion" was that I was always stumbling over stock phrases that have been used hundreds of times and never examined once. And it is the character of these stock phrases that they stop a man from thinking. They stuff up the hole in his head with rubbish so that he does not even know there is a hole. He is filled without being fed.

There is something about this sort of catchword that prevents a man from ever developing it or from deducing anything from it or even asking any question about it. And the chief contrast between Catholics and such non-Catholics now, it seems to me, is simply that we are still thinking and they have stopped thinking. And what has stopped them is the sort of barricade of the old bricks and stones and stale cabbages and rotten eggs that they heaved at us nearly a hundred years ago... From Miss Rebecca West's very Early Victorian case against the Atonement to Mr. Arnold Bennett's highly sentimental theory of social duty, the whole thing is thoroughly thrashed out and threadbare. It trails a fringe of all the tag-ends of thought; of thoughts that have ended with a phrase and cannot get any further.

Now Catholics are still thinking; because they have got something to think about. And if anyone wants to know what it is, even in a practical way and apart from its highest purport, it is easy enough to tell them.

We can still think because we have Dogmas; because we have Dogmas to think about; because we are still infested with these dreadful and dangerous animals, whose complete absence from their own homes was almost the only thing that any of the contributors had to boast of.

Irish Colleges Abroad.— The *Catholic Times* (Liverpool) of Saturday, October 17, carries on exceptionally valuable article by Rev. H. O'Mahony on "Irish Colleges Abroad," which we reproduce through the courtesy of the editor:

> The gratifying announcement that the Irish Franciscans have re-acquired their old College of St. Anthony in Louvain recalls the successful efforts that were made abroad during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the education and training of ecclesiastical students for Ireland. Numerous Irish colleges had to be

established and maintained on the Continent; the most notable of them were the Irish College in Paris and the Irish Franciscan College at Louvain, the Irish College in Rome having but few students before the nineteenth century. The total number of Irish clerical students being educated on the Continent at the outbreak of the French Revolution was 478, and of these there were 348 in France. One result of the Revolution was the foundation and endowment of Maynooth College in 1795 by the British Government.

The Irish College in Paris still survives, educating at present about 100 Irish students for the secular priesthood. Its present Rector, the Rev. P. Boyle, C.M., has written an interesting History of the College (London, 1901). Its history goes back to the late sixteenth century, when bands of Irish students began to settle in Paris. They were accommodated in various premises till the Collège des Lombards, in the Rue des Carmes, was handed over to them exclusively by Louis XIV in 1677. Among Bourdaloue's extant sermons is one he preached, probably in the year 1696, in aid of the Irish students' seminary. An earlier benefactor of theirs was St. Vincent de Paul. The Lombard College housed all the Irish students till 1770, when the Paris Irish College of the present day began to be built in the Rue du Cheval Vert, now the Rue des Irlandais, quite close to the Panthéon. In 1792, during the Reign of Terror, it fell under the ban of the revolutionaries. Its superior, the Abbé Kearney, who, with his friend, the Abbé Edgeworth, brother of the Irish novelist, Maria Edgeworth, had been present at the execution of Louis XVI, was in 1793 thrown into prison and narrowly escaped being guillotined. After the Revolution the College was re-opened; and from 1804 to 1814 the English and Scottish students in Paris, as well as a few French students, lived (not always amicably) with the Irish students in the Irish College. After the disasters of 1814 and the restoration of the Bourbons the Irish Bishops sought to have the funds of the College annexed to Maynooth; but the French Government refused to allow this, and the Irish College was spared. It has also escaped, more or less, the confiscation threatened by recent French legislation regarding religious establishments. The late Cardinal Logue and the late parish priest of Youghal, Mgr. Canon Keller (called Kelleher in his earlier days), were students and afterwards professors at the Irish College.

There were Irish Colleges also at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes, Poitiers, Douai, Lille, Rouen, and Bourges. None of these survived the French Revolution. The biggest of them was the one at Nantes. To the Irish College at Douai, which was founded as early as 1577, an annual subsidy of 5,000 florins was paid (not always promptly) by the King of Spain, till Douai was annexed to France in 1677.

LOUVAIN.

In Belgium there were Irish Colleges at Antwerp and Tournai, and Louvain had three Irish Colleges—an Irish Dominican College, called the College of the Holy Cross, the Irish Franciscan College of St. Anthony, and an Irish College for the secular clergy, known as "Collegium Pastorale." All these were confiscated by the French revolutionaries. The Irish Colleges at Louvain (writes Father Boyle) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave to the Church in Ireland 32 bishops and about 300 priests, of whom 200 at least were graduates in arts of the University of Louvain. One of the rectors of the Irish Pastoral College, Thomas Stapleton, was also rector of the University. Five years after the suppression of the monastery of Donegal, their last house of studies at home, the Irish Franciscans established themselves at Louvain in 1606, with the approbation of Pope Paul V and an annual endowment of 1,000 crowns from the King of Spain. Ten years later they acquired a new site at the corner of the Rue de Pantalu, and built their permanent College of St. Anthony, which they are again to occupy as a constituent college of Louvain University. For neary 200 years the Irish Friars in Louvain did inspiring work for Faith and Fatherland. By the year 1630 their college had supplied to Ireland 3 archbishops, 2 bishops, and 63 missionaries. In 1619 it sent priests to the Hebrides, in Scotland. It provided professors for the Irish Franciscan College founded at Prague in 1629, and for St. Isidore's, Rome, in 1625. In the list of Irish confessors and martyrs whose beatification is at present being promoted in Rome it counts eleven of its alumni—Brothers D. Cheevers and M. Hoare, Fathers J. Cathan, B. Conny, P. Fleming, W. Hickey, J. Kearney, F. O'Mahony, H. Stafford, W. Walsh, and N. Wogan. Early professors of the college whose names are still familiar to the learned were Father B. O'Hussey, whose Irish Catechism (Antwerp, 1608) was the first Catholic book ever printed in Irish; Father Hugh Ward, who compiled a Life of St. Romauld, the Irish patron saint of Mechlin; Father Patrick Fleming, author of a Life of St. Columba (Louvain, 1667) and other biographical work; and the celebrated hagiologist, Father John Colgan. A lay-brother of the college, Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, was sent from Louvain to spend twenty years in Ireland collecting historical materials and evenually compiling his famous Annals. The college, too, became the last resting place of many distinguished Irish exiles. In the chapel are buried Bernard O'Neill, son of the Earl of Tyrone; Hugh O'Donnell, son of Prince Rory O'Donnell and grandson of the Earl of Kildare, and his namesake and cousin, the son of Caffar O'Donnell; also Lady Nuala O'Donnell, sister of the Earl of Tirconnell, and Lady Rose O'Dogherty, his sister-in-law. This Rose O'Dogherty

was the wife of Caffar O'Donnell, who, with his brother, the Earl of Tirconnell, is buried in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome; after her husband's deah in 1608 she left Rome for Flanders, and later married Owen Roe O'Neill, for whom a worthy dirge has been penned by Aubrey de Vere:

> Lords and priests, ye talked and talked
> In Kilkenny's Council Hall;
> But this man whose game ye balked
> Was the one man 'mong you all!

In the College cloisters lie buried the Irish Dominican Bishop, Dominic Burke, and the famous annalist, Brother Michael O'Clery; also Major Lynch, of the Lynches of Galway.

SALAMANCA.

In Spain there were Irish Colleges at Salamanca, Seville, Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, and Compostela. Of these the one at Salamanca alone survives. It bears the aristocratic title of "El Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses," and at present accommodates some 30 clerical students, who attend lectures at the diocesan seminary.

The Irish Colleges of Salamanca, Compostela, and Madrid enjoyed subsidies from the King of Spain. The College at Alcalá, dating from 1590, had a big endowment from its founder, a Portuguese nobleman, who was related to the McDonnells of Ulster. The fishermen of Seville obtained from Pope Paul V an indult permitting them to fish on six Sundays and holidays each year for the benefit of the Irish College of Seville. The Irish merchants at Seville granted the College a percentage on every cask of wine they sold; and Irish soldiers in the service of Spain gave it a portion of their pay. The founder of the Irish Colleges at Seville and Madrid was Father Theobald Stapleton, who afterwards died a martyr in Ireland.

In Lisbon also there was an Irish College founded in 1593 for the secular clergy. It came to an end during the civil wars in Portugal in the nineteenth century. The Irish Dominican friars and the Irish Dominican nuns still retain convents in Lisbon.

A Severe Indictment.— A generation ago a certain university president began an educational Isaurian campaign. Those who acclaimed this sowing of the wind must now pause and ask themselves if some of our institutions of higher learning are not reaping the whirlwind. Verily the Ciceronian: *"Ubinam gentium sumus?"* is quite *apropos;* and the President of Columbia, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler prompts the query. Dr. Murray's annual re-

port to the trustees of Columbia was made public some weeks ago. It says:

"Throughout the nation there is obvious and often expressed concern over the widespread lawlessness that has attracted the attention of the whole world. This lawlessness has causes that lie far deeper than most present discussion would seem to realize. The multiplication of courts, the speeding up of criminal process and the infliction of more severe sentences upon offenders would not affect the prevailing lawlessness in the least.

"This lawbreaking habit has grown up through lack of discipline and self-discipline, through lack of real education, and it will not be checked or overcome until these deficiencies are repaired. Lawbreakers are almost uniformly graduates of our common schools and, not infrequently, of our colleges as well. This fact tells the story. They have not been disciplined, trained, educated, either at home, at school or at college, to those habits of self-control, self-mastery and self-direction which are the only effective protection society has against law-breaking and lawlessness."

Dr. Butler mentions the increasing difficulty of finding competent men of broad scholarship to take the place of "our older scholars of distinction and large achievement," and says "that while there are many narrow men of competence within the limitation of their interest, there are few broad men able to grasp and to interpret a given field of knowledge as well as to advance its boundaries by independent study and reflection."

"A situation such as this," he continues, "must give us pause when we attempt to appraise what might be the value and what the major effects of our present day system of school and college training are in the United States. The longer one examines the programs of study that are now most widely followed, observes the spirit in which school and college teaching is so often carried on, and notes the avoidance of anything that makes for genuine scholarship and power of reflective thinking, one is forced to raise the very far-reaching question whether we have not destroyed the ideal of the liberally educated man and, with it, the liberally educated man himself.

"If by any chance this has happened or is happening, then no amount of expenditure upon education, whether public or private, and no statistics of increased enrolment and school attendance can possibly compensate for the appalling damage that will have been done to the intelligence and moral life of the nation."

The "liberally educated man," Dr. Butler explains, is the man who is intellectually, morally and economically free through his grasp "on the fundamental facts in the history of man and of nature."

"The notion," he continues, "that intensive and very accurate knowledge of a narrow field and nothing more can constitute a liberally-educated man is a grotesque absurdity. The notion that an acquaintance with the superficial aspect of civilization will suffice, with no knowledge of that history, which is its third dimension, is equally absurd.

"The plain fact is that early and intense specialization, which has been widely urged for various insufficient and unconvincing reasons, is at the bottom of the trouble. Specialization is the parent of information and of a certain type of skill, but it is the foe of knowledge and the mortal enemy of

wisdom. Not narrow men, however keen, but broad men, sharpened to a point, are the ideal product of a sound system of school and college education.

"The most pressing and insistent of all university problems at the moment is the finding of men soundly and broadly trained, with philosophic grasp of their chosen field of knowledge, with large intellectual outlook and sympathy and with eager competence to press forward into new fields and to carry an enthusiastic company of younger scholars with them. If such can be found, the immediate future of the university is secure; but if they be not found, then the outlook is difficult and dark indeed."

Religious courses at Columbia have increased in number and extent, he points out. He speaks with gratification of an increase in the number of Columbia students who intend to study for the ministry after receiving their degrees and with regret of the number of graduates of theological schools who had no preliminary college training.

"If the full truth were said," declared Dr. Butler, "it would probably be that the greatest obstacle at present to religious faith, religious conviction and religious worship is the attitude and influence of a very large proportion of the poorly endowed and poorly educated Protestant clergy.

"What the world sorely needs, if it is to have its religious convictions deepened and its faith made more sure, is another St. Dominic or St. Francis, another Wesley or Whitefield, another Newman or Pusey or Keble, another Lacordaire. The religion of modern man will not long survive if fed on the husks alone."

"The Bible of St. Paul."— Gutenberg's famous "Bible of St. Paul" is to be exhibited in the United States. So states a press report.

It is not known where this exhibition will be held but it is possible that it will be at one of the institutions of the Benedictine Order. Every possible precaution will be taken to insure the safety of the volume on its journey across the Atlantic and back.

Since the days of Gutenberg himself this particular print of the Bible has been in the possession of the Benedictines. It was placed in the library of the Priory of St. Paul in Carinthia, but when that priory was suppressed during the reign of the Emperor Joseph II, the monks took the valuable book to St. Blasien, Bavaria.

During the reign of the Emperor Francis II, when the Benedictines returned to Austria, the book was taken back to its former home. In the subsequent stormy times of the Napoleonic era the volume was again removed from the priory library and placed in hiding so that it might not be found by the spies and scouts of Napoleon who, at that time, was plundering Austrian convents and priories of their art treasures.

Since the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the Bible has reposed peacefully in the priory and many book-lovers and connoisseurs have gone there to inspect it.

There have been frequent offers of large sums for this book. One

American during the years immediately after the war, when Austrian religious houses were in the most dire distress, offered $130,000 for the volume, but the offer was refused by the Abbot Odilo Franki. In this refusal the Abbot followed the example of many other religious houses in Austria which, though they own art treasures which would make them wealthy if sold, have refused to part with them even when the members of the community were in need of the bare necessities of life.

The Gutenberg Bible of St. Paul dates from 1454, but was not bound until 1481. It consists of three large folios printed on parchment. The 131 chapters of the first volume have colored initial letters which are works of art.

Pages 318 and 319 of this volume were left blank because Gutenberg was unable to find any other way to make his printed matter balance. In most of the existing copies of the Gutenberg Bibles these blank pages have been torn out, but in the Bible of St. Paul page 318 is intact.

A New Organization.— As a result of a movement initiated at the Catholic University of America some months ago, the American Catholic Philosophical Society was organised on January 5 with a large membership representative of the leading Catholic institutions in the United States. The programme of the meetings follows:

MORNING SESSION—CALDWELL HALL.

Address of Welcome—Right Reverend Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rector, The Catholic University of America.

Paper: "What a Philosophical Organisation Can Do"—Right Reverend Monsignor Edward A. Pace, D.D., Professor of Philosophy, The Catholic University of America.

Discussion and Adoption of Constitution.

AFTERNOON SESSION—MCMAHON HALL.

Symposium: "What the New Scholasticism Has to Offer Modern Thought."

(1) From the field of Metaphysics—Rev. Francis P. Siegfried, Ph.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

(2) From the field of Epistemology—Rev. Joseph T. Barron, Ph.D., Professor of Logic, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

(3) From the field of the Philosophy of Nature—Rev. Jules A. Baisnée, S.S., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, The Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C.

(4) From the field of Biology—Rev. Alphonse M. Schwitalla, S.J., Ph.D., Regent of the School of Medicine, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

(5) From the field of Psychology—Rev. P. J. Waters, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Philosophy, St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.

(6) From the field of Ethics—Rev. Charles Miltner, C.S.C., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.

(7) From the field of Religion—Rev. F. V. Corcoran, C.M., Ph.D., Professor of Fundamental and Special Dogmatic Theology, Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.

Discussion after reading of papers.

The following were elected officers:

President.—Rt. Rev. Edward A. Pace, Ph.D., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Vice-President.—Rev. John M. Fox, S.J., Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.

Secretary-Treasurer.—Rev. James Hugh Ryan, Ph.D., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Executive Council.—Rev. Bernard Vogt, O.F.M., Buffalo, N. Y.; Rev. Charles Miltner, C.S.C., Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.; Rev. John McCormick, S.J., Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.; Rev. Henry Ignatius Smith, O.P., Ph.D., Dominican College, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Jules A. Baisnée, S.S., Ph.D., Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Francis P. Siegfried, Ph.D., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

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